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Roger Pearson
General Editor
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Why the United States Still Lacks a National Missile Defense

E. Fox and S. Orman
Orman Associates Inc., Virginia

There have been countless articles written bemoaning the fact that the United States has not yet deployed any defenses capable of defeating even the smallest and simplest of missile attacks. This paper attempts to examine the reasons underlying the reluctance to deploy such a defense, which will be referred to as National Missile Defense (NMD). In order to review the subject objectively, a number of factors which influence defense policy within democracies have been identified, so that the importance of each factor in determining attitudes towards NMD, can be assessed separately. No claim is made that the topIcs identified cover every aspect leading to the acceptance of a new program, merely that the list below encompasses most of the primary issues. The items to be considered are:

An undisputed recognition of the threat
A military requirement to counter the threat
Public and Government support for the activity
The technical capability
Financial commitment to complete the work
Freedom to proceed under international treaties

These factors were first highlighted by us in an attempt to explain why Israel, with much more limited resources, had made greater progress towards deployment of a missile defense than the United States[1]. More recently the same factors were examined by J. Cirincione, who drew similar conclusions for the lack of progress, although from a very different perspective.[2]

Each of the topics listed above is examined in some depth, to ascertain the level of importance which each has been accorded by the various agencies which contribute significantly towards U.S.

[1] E. Fox & S. Orman, "Are we serious about missile defense 'Y', *RUSI Journal*, June 1996, pp.23-27.

[2] J. Cirincione, Why the Right lost the missile defense debate, *Foreign Policy*, No. 106, 1997.

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defense policy.

An Undisputed Recognition Of The Threat

Because of it's geographic location, America, in contrast to most of it's allies, is able to separate threats into Theater and Strategic. The former applies to U.S. forces operating overseas, while the latter refers to NMD for Continental USA, Alaska and Hawaii. During the cold war there was no doubt that the massive Soviet build up of offensive missiles dominated U.S. defense policy. There was no uncertainty in identifying the threat. It was one that for many years appeared to be too large to counter solely with a defense. Deterrence dominated security policy thinking.

Since the fall of the former Soviet Union (FSU), there is general agreement that the strategic threat has signIfIcantly decreased, although there is no suggestion that it has gone away entirely.[3] There is also general agreement that the fall of the FSU has been followed by a significant increase in the proliferation of missile and unconventional warhead technology.[4] It is the speed with which these proliferated capabilities can be turned, by acquiring nations, into real threats against America, that is the basis of considerable disagreement.

The Intelligence Authorities and the Administration see no new strategic threat developing within 10 to 15 years,[5] Republicans in Congress have been far less sanguine. They point out that the re-targeting of Russian nuclear weapons, which are no longer aimed at US soil, is a political rather than a military gesture, and can be changed very quickly.[6] This despite the fact that the agreement re-targeting U.S. and Russian offensive systems has been trumpeted as a major triumph by the present Administration,[7] Also the transfer of hardware, and experienced staff to other countries is now much more difficult to control. Those sufficiently determined to build up

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[3] K. Holmes, "Gap between might & promises", *Washington Times*, 31 October 1997.

[4] R Ranger, D. Wiencek & H. Crum Ewing "Missile Defence ", *Global Defence Review* 1997, pp. 48-55.

[5] B. Gertz, "Report on missile threat to US too optimistic", *Washington Times*, 15 March 1996.

[6] B. Gertz, "General faults forecast of missile threats", *Washington Times*, 14 June 1996.

[7] J.M. Waller, "The missiles pointed at America", *Washington Times*, 24 September 1996.

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capabilities will now be able to do so much more rapidly than starting from scratch.

Allegations have been made that recent threat assessments by the U.S. security branches have been subJected to political pressures. This, and related disagreements, even led in 1996 to a court challenge by some Congressional members, against the Administration policy of delaying the deployment of an NMD.[8] These advocates consider that proliferation could lead to the development of strategic threats in a much shorter time scale than that to which the research programs have been designed to respond. [9,10]

The major geopolitical changes, which occurred during the 1990s, inevitably affected ongoing defense programs, particularly those designed specifically to counter Soviet threats. For example, the Strategic Defense Initiative started by President Reagan in 1983 has been subjected to such periodic priority and funding alterations, that 14 years after it was started, an agreed threat assessment for NMD is still lacking.[11] Without such an assessment, to which The Executive, Congress, and the DOD all concur, it becomes extremely difficult to agree on a way forward to counter the threat, so the program has meandered onwards lacking firm policy guidance.

On the basis of the above, on a rating of 1 to 10, the U.S. would score only 3 for Threat Recognition, a mark well below the level that would be needed to secure acceptance of NMD as a high priority program.

Military Requirement To Counter The Threat

The lack of formal agreement regarding the likely timing and format of a Strategic threat, has inevitably delayed the formulation of a military requirement for NMD. One has only recently been prepared and promulgated.

It has taken until February 1997 for a bid request to be released

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[8] Editorial, *Washington Times*, 29 October 1996.

[9] M. Kirkpatrick, "Clinton flouts the law on missile defense", *The Wall Street Journal*, 23 October 1996.

[10] D.J. Feith, "Missile Act battle simmers", *Defense News*, 25 November - 1 December 1996.

[11] E. Fox & S. Orman, J. *Social, Political & Economic Studies*, Vol. 21, No.3, Fall 1996, pp. 243-252.

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to industry in response to the Congressionally mandated requirement for a 3 + 3 NMD program.[12] This calls for an initial 3 year effort to demonstrate a capability to counter a strategic missile attack, with a further 3 years to deploy a system should it then be required. A whole year has elapsed since Congress requested the program, and Director BMDO has stated that the 3 + 3 task will not get properly underway until contracts are placed later this year. To the objective observer it seems to be highly unlikely that a demonstration of success could possibly be achieved before the turn of the century, or some 18 years since President Reagan first proposed the work. This fact strongly supports the low marking given to the recognition of the threat. It has to be assumed that those in power do not regard the risk as serious or imminent, since so little has yet been done to counter it.

On the positive side, there has been recent recognition within the JCS of the essentiality of taking advantage of the significant advances in computing and communications technology, to link previously unrelated weapon systems. Their Joint Vision 2010 has been issued to establish a new order of interoperability for U.S forces. In effect it recognizes that there has to be a more seamless integration of capabilities, if the U.S. is to retain significant military effectiveness in the future. This imposition of a requirement for Interoperability and Integration (I&I) on the elements of missile defense systems, that until now have been developed almost as stand alone items, will be a major step forward. The introduction of the requirement for I&I during the development stage will enable a far more effective NMD to be acquired than attempting to link the systems once they have entered service.

On the same scoring system as before, the Military requirement still only merits 4 out of 10. The extra mark being a recognition of the advantages that will flow from JV 2010 into the NMD arena.

Public And Government Support For The Activity

One of the few issues that appears to offer a clear distinction between the Republican and Democratic parties is the topic of NMD. Ever since SDI was introduced by President Reagan, the Democratic

[12] J. Hackett "Lingering hope for missile defense", *Washington Times*, 24 March 1997.

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leadership have opposed deployment of an NMD. It is noteworthy therefore, that a topIc which has clearly divided the two parties for some 14 years, never became an issue in the recent Presidential election. One obvious conclusion that can be drawn from this is that none of the party leaders saw NMD as a vote catcher. It was not an issue that was considered to have strong appeal to the electorate. There is no better time, than a major election, to assess what is perceived to be important to the public. Would-be office holders are only too keen to discover what their electorate wants, so that it can be promised to them as a reward for their vote. Regardless of whether the public is complacent, or as some believe, remain convinced that a missile defense system is already deployed, there was no debate of the issues, and certainly no public demand for discussion of NMD.

Since taking office in 1993, the Clinton Administration has been opposed to the deployment of an NMD. As will be considered later, much of this opposition stems from an unwillingness to do anything that might undermine the ABM Treaty. The alternative policy adopted by the Administration has been to attempt to secure Russian agreement to modify the Treaty. These talks proceeded unproductively for 4 years, until March 1997 when a number of changes to the Treaty were mutually proposed.[13] These agreements were made despite prior Chiefs of Staff warnings that such modifications could impose harmful restrictions on future U.S. missile defenses.[14] This conclusion is hardly surprising, since from the outset the talks appear to have been designed with that objective.

In terms of public and government support, the score for the U.S. has to be a mere 4 out of 10 for support of NMD. It seems strange to allot such a low score for a program, that in one form or another has consumed some $ 50 billion since 1983. But all the current evidence indicates that it is not being accorded high priority.

The Technical Capability

This is an area in which the U.S. stands supreme. While some may question the cost effectiveness of the SDI and the follow-on

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[13] R. Bell, "White House briefing", 24 March 1997, Reported in BMDO *External Affairs Digest*, Pentagon 25 March 1997.

[14] B. Gertz, "Service Chiefs fear for missile defenses, *Washington Times*, 10 March 1997.

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BMD programs which have proceeded under the last four Administrations, none can dispute the fact that as a result of the work undertaken the U.S now holds a world lead in all the technologies underlying the broad subject of MissIle Defense. Many of the more significant advances have been made in the development of TMD components, which have been accorded higher priority in recent years. but since much of the technology underlying the two programs is common, there will eventually be signIficant carry over to the NMD program.

Ground and space based sensing capabilities have advanced considerably, notably in the ability to use multiple frequencies which would make it much more difficult for an attacker to confuse the defense with decoys. Related technical advances in tracking capabilities ensure that targets can be followed throughout their flight path, and intercept points identified. It is the interceptors themselves that inevitably have received most of the publicity, because their development trials yield such spectacular results when successful. The developments in this area include demonstration of a confirmed hit-to-kill capability. This will be important in both NMD and TMD for achieving lethality, particularly for chemical, biological and nuclear warheads.

The recent failures in THAAD testing have inevitably brought into question the likely acquisition timing and the capability of missile defenses, and the effect of this cannot be discounted.[15] On the other hand the successes of the Israeli Arrow program have led to speculation about the comparative results, even though the Director of BMDO has stated that the Arrow cannot meet the U.S. requirements for an upper tier interceptor.[16]

It was mentioned earlier, that more recognition is now being given to the synergy that could result from effective integration of these independent systems. Implementation of the JV 2010 could lead to a much greater degree of interoperability, which in turn would lead to enhanced performance through a much more comprehensive Battle Management, Command, Control and Communications capability, for NMD.

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[15] "Will Army can missile that can't", *Huntsville Times* 24 March 1997.

[16] L. Lyles "No place in US for Arrow II", *Army Times*, 31 March 1997.

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As noted above, although the major technical advances have been principally in TMD, much of the technology will have application in NMD. It is only this form of synergy that might enable the very ambitious 3 + 3 NMD program to have any chance of success in demonstrating the required capability in the allotted 3 years. Overall, technical capability is the high scoring feature of the U.S. program, and merits 7 out of 10.

Financial Commitment to Finish the Work

There is an indissoluble connection between policy and cost of implementation. A well thought out policy enables costs to be controlled, by virtue of the fact that the issues have been carefully considered, and the various options subjected to trade off studies, before major commitments are made. Programs which are started prematurely are invariably subject to significant changes in objectives and time scale, leading to major cost over-runs. Even well conceived major defense programs, which often take 10 or more years from inception to first entry into service, are highly susceptible to this form of cost growth. This is particularly when the life of the program far exceeds the term of the Administration which initiated it. As has been recorded earlier, NMD has been a concept which has polarized Politicians, Administrators, the Services, and international Governments into supporters and opponents. So it is hardly surprising that this program, has been subjected to several changes of direction and priority, as leaders have come and gone.

With hindsight it is clear that the $50 billion already invested across the broad range of BMD activities, could, with a more consistent approach, have produced the elements of an operative NMD by now. The switching of resources and priorities between NMD and TMD has adversely affected the rate of progress of both. Earlier it was shown that as a result of these past activities, an impressive broad range of capabilities has been developed. Yet few are yet at a stage where they can be utilized as effective components of a missile defense system.

What is now clear, is that without a significant increase in budget, all the systems currently in development cannot be carried through to deployment in the same time frame. Extremely difficult choices will have to be made between priorities for TMD and NMD, and between some of the competing systems within each program

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Because of budget constraints, Boost phase interception concepts, which promise such a cost effective return for both programs, appear destined to remain underfunded. Resources will undoubtedly have to be found, or reallocated, to counter the potential air or sea launched Cruise Missile attack against the U.S. A threat that has been almost totally neglected until recently. Even with continued expenditure at the rate of $ 3 billion annually, there is clearly insufficient funding to deploy a TMD and an NMD at the same time. Hard decisions will have to be made regarding what to continue and what to delay or stop.

At a mid May 1997 joint hearing of the House National Security subcommittees on procurement and research, Paul Kaminiski, Undersecretary of Defense for Acquisition acknowledged that the estimate for NMD was at least $ 2 billion short over the 5 year estimate period. The Director of BMDO, while welcoming the addition of $ 2 billion, noted that even with this extra funding the program remains at very high risk.17 Curt Weldon, one of the Panel members, claimed that the funding shortfall was the result of the Clinton Administration's unwillingness to commit to deploying an NMD capability.[17]

All this evidence suggests that without a major international crisis involving the use of offensive missiles, it is highly unlikely that the current Administration will increase the priority presently accorded to NMD. With all other factors remaining unchanged, the financial commitment to achieve deployment of an NMD appears to be only lukewarm. This is likely to lead to significant further delays before anything approaching an effective NMD becomes available to the United States. The score for financial commitment is therefore assessed as only 4 out of 10, until the application of the extra funding, described as necessary in the previous paragraph, becomes understood.

Freedom Under Treaties

The ABM Treaty, signed in 1972 between the U.S. and the FSU, was designed specifically to inhIbit the size, format, location and capability an NMD. While the Treaty remains in force, the parties are

[17] *BMDO External Affairs Digest*, The Pentagon, 16 May 1997

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severely restricted in the quality of strategic defense that either can deploy.[18]

When the ABM Treaty was signed the U.S. and the FSU dominated nuclear weapon and BM l capabilities. Deterrence was the accepted means of avoiding armed conflict between the two power blocks. Ensuring vulnerability to missile attack was viewed then as a means of preserving the effectiveness of deterrence. Since the fall of the FSU, proliferation of missile and warhead technology has blossomed, enabling many countries that would previously have been dismissed as minor, to become capable of mounting genuine threats to allies and to U.S. interests around the world, if not yet to the U.S. itself. It is by no means certain that all of these newly empowered nations are susceptible to deterrence. Furthermore as proliferation increases so does the likelihood that a subnational group will acquire the ability to inflict considerable havoc.

There is ample evidence that such groups are unaffected, if not positively encouraged, by the threat of overwhelming retaliation.

The plain facts are that while the Treaty remains in force it is capable of interpretations that would inhibit the deployment of an effective population defense. At the time the Treaty was signed, some observers noted that threatening to kill populations was permitted, but threatening to kill missiles was not. It appears that the same philosophy still applies in some quarters.

The demise of the FSU provided an opportunity to terminate the Treaty on the grounds that one of the two parties to it no longer existed. This was not done at the time, and since then retention of the ABM Treaty has remained a basic tenet of U.S. security policy. This is totally incompatible with the deployment of an effective NMD. This attachment to the Treaty has even been used to restrict projected TMD capabilities, in the form of agreements made at the Helsinki Summit in March between Presidents Clinton and Yeltsin.[19] While this policy remains in force it has to be assumed that the Executive is not serious about achieving NMD.[20]

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[18] *US Arms Control & Disarmament Agency, Arms Control & Disarmament Agreements: Texts & Histories of Negotiations*, US Government Printing Office, Washington DC, 1982.

[19] K. Payne, *Defense News*, April 21-27 1997.

[20] "Critics say Clinton accepted too many restrictions on TMD" *BMDO External Affairs Digest*, 26 March 1997.

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Since coming to Office in 1993, The President, and several senior officials of his Administration, have repeatedly stated that it is imperative to retain the ABM Treaty. There is little indication that anything would cause a change of corporate mind, short of another major crisis like the Gulf War, during which the U.S. could be subject to a serious threat, or even an actual missile attack. Not even the most ardent supporter of NMD wishes to see such a major international crisis develop, but most are less sanguine than the present Administration that it can be avoided by not deploying an NMD. On this basis the score for influence of International Treaties can only be 3 out of 10, until there is a change of Government.

A careful examination of six identified criteria which have to be met to ensure the success of a defense program, provides an overall score for the U.S. of only 40 %. Although this is merely a subjective assessment, and no claim is made that the criteria chosen are complete, a score in excess of 75 % would be expected if a nation was really taking the topic seriously. It seems clear that, despite the rhetoric, NMD is not viewed as amongst the highest priority either by the public, by the Government, or even by the JCS. The momentum the broad program achieved under previous Administrations made it difficult, if not impossible to cancel, so it has continued with the priority accorded to the less contentious TMD.

There still appears to be little enthusIasm for the deployment of any defense that would provide effective population defense, and without such a capability, neither a TMD nor an NMD will significantly enhance security and stability. The acknowledgement in May 1997 by DOD officials that the NMD program is severely underfunded, and that even an increase of $ 2 billion in the next 5 years would leave the program at high risk, confirms that NMD planning has not yet been accorded sufficient importance. It should also be noted that some of the increased funds for NMD have been made available by withdrawal from the THAAD (TMD), delaying that program for at least two years. The criticism that despite the rhetoric, NMD has not been treated as a defense program of high national importance, applies across the board. The Executive, the Administration and the Legislature branches of government, have all avoided facing the real issues.

For a short period the Gulf War galvanized several nations into a more serious consideration of BMD, which for most meant NMD.

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With the end of the crisis, the urgency appears to have diminished. Governments once again seem to be content to rely on diplomatic procedures and the threat of overwhelming retaliation, rather than effective defense, to avoid conflicts.

Supporters of BMD remain in favor of diplomatic and deterrence postures, but consider that the back-up of an effective defense would further enhance global security. It would be particularly unfortunate if it takes another conflict, with the loss of a major city, to prove the accuracy of the latter supposition.

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THE ABM TREATY CHARADE:
A Study in Elite Illusion and Delusion
William T. Lee
Former CIA and DIA analyst of Soviet and U.S. missile programs

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Moldovia: The Transformation of Post-Soviet Society: Philosophical and Political Considerations

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Deputy, Moldovan Parliament
Scott J. Hammond
Stephen R. Bowers
James Madison University

The turbulence of the final years of the former Soviet Union had dramatic consequences for every region of that great colonial empire. The promise of a democratic system modeled not on the Leninist but rather on the Jeffersonian concept of democracy electrified millions of Soviet citizens who accepted the reality of Gorbachev's reforms. The transformation first seen elsewhere in the USSR came late to the south-western republic of Moldova and was not evident until the appointment of Petru Lucinsky as First Secretary of the Moldovan Communist Party. Hailed as a Moldovan Gorbachev, Lucinsky arrived too late to satisfy the escalating demands for a democratic transformation of this remote region of the USSR. Consequently, in that small nation's first free elections it was the Popular Front which assumed power and Mircea Snegur, a former communist who had joined the Popular Front, became president.

The Snegur presidency ended with his defeat in the December, 1996 elections and his replacement by the former Communist Party leader Petru Lucinsky. Spanning half a decade, the Snegur administration record offers an excellent picture of the limits of the democratic transformation not only of Moldova but also of the former Soviet Union itself. In order to gauge the accomplishments as well as the shortcomings of the transformation of this former Soviet republic, it is necessary to consider both Moldovan developments as well as the theoretical parameters that enable us to determine the existence or absence of democratic government. Therefore, let us first outline the philosophical foundations of the democratic state.

Philosophical Basis of Democracy

The effort to transform Moldova illustates an ancient drama. This is a drama which recapitulates the timeless struggle between

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liberty and power that began with the origins of politics and the beginning of organized human associaton. This struggle involves the first questions of political meaning, both as process and end. The lessons of the twentieth century demonstrate that this distinction is ultimately false, for we now know that that no process or method can be disassociated from its end, or rather, that no end can be rendered as distinct from the moral substance of its means. Substance and procedure - end and means - are inextricably bound, and in those instances wherein they are treated as somehow both distinct and separate, the end is reified in such a way that anything can be permitted at the level of the unmediated means. Under such delusions, we lose our fear of terror if our higher end is the sort of paradise promised by the USSR's early Bolshevik elites.

The collapse of the Soviet Union set in motion this century's greatest transformation of political authority. Consequently, the question of right and its relationship to ordinary politics is more vital today than it was to us even in 1789. Although the metaphor of Scylla and Charybdis is often overused to the point of cliche, it is aptly employed in describing Europe's precarious, perilous journey between unacceptable ends since the conclusion of the First World War. Menaced by the hideous monster of fascism from one side and the cruel indifference of the abysmal vortex of Stalinism on the other, the good European has had to carefully read the course of the narrow current that safely conveys the well piloted ship of the polity through the dual horrors of totalitarianism. In the West the tradition of human right has played an important part in widening the breadth of the safer course; but in the East the monster of totalitarian held entire nations in its grasp with catastrophic results. Developments during and after World War Two, coupled with the enduring consequences of the Hitler-Stalin pact of 1939, gave tremendous breadth to the political hold of leftist totalitarianism.[1] Moldova, in particular, fell victim to the USSR's militarily imposed political philosophy and, as a consequence, the nation's cultural identity was all but destroyed.[2] Throughout East Europe, millions were drawn

[1] Iosif Constantin Dragan, "Consecintele Pactului de Agresiune Ribbentrop-Molotov", Glasul Natiunii (Chisinau), Vol. 3, No. 26, 27 June 1991, p. 1.

[2] Ion Moraru, "Trecutul Prin Prisma Memoriilor", Destin Romanesc (Chisinau), No. 1, 1996, pp. 144-151.

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under, and those parts of the East that have, as the tentative sailor or tightrope walker emerged as survivors (not unscathed), must now discover other more sure ways to chart those deeper and calmer channels that put the forces of fear, repression, and universal murder at a safer distance. Many believe with those in the West that there are certain guides that are mandatory to a safe piloting of the political ship, and that the signposts serving as guides are written in the language of human right.

Moldova's transformation illustrates the practical clash between the proponents and the opponents of this view. The democratic philosophy here is under the leadership of the nation's intelligentsia, a group which emerged in 1994 as the Congress of Intellectuals and Peasants. The forces of the old regime, directed by the Agrarians and their parliamentary allies, continue to resist any philosophy based on the notion that human rights should not be qualified by casual governmental edict.

Natural right, and its concomitant concept, natural law, can be understood as essential to political order for at least three broad reasons. First, the tradition of natural right is an essential facet of democratic regimes. Second, human freedom, although invariably and vaguely understood and ambiguously established, is brought into tangible practice through the recognition of the principle of right. Third, the tradition of right is a primary element of democratic regimes. Before we examine the specific problems of human rights in Moldova, let us dwell briefly on each of these broader reasons for the essential place of right in free political association.

A key question in the formation of the USSR related to the source of law. The Marxist-Stalinist view of "class based" law shaped the Soviet system. By contrast, the democratic conception of law draws on a much deeper and theoretical basis. The collateral notions of natural law and right, whether they are viewed as derived from God, inherent in our nature, a product of enlightened human reason, the inheritance of ancient custom and practices, the rational order of Nature itself, or the manifestation of an abstract political essense, are affirmations of the human need for a dignified relationship between the person and the community at large. Natural law must serve as the context for natural right, for it is in this that the value of an individual is measured against the unreflectve conditions of ordinary experience and legal structures. Legal positivism by itself cannot

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support a notion of right, for it is clear that in this sense right is defined wholly in and through immediate interpretation of legal conventions. Natural law, on the other hand, recognizes that there are principles that mediate between the dignity of the person (subjective worth) and the needs of the community (objective requirements). The natural law is the determinate factor that imposes limitations upon positive law, natural right is the enabling factor that infuses the citizen with a sense of value that is not dependent upon the structuring rules of the legal system. Hence natural law determines the legitimate scope of political and legal authority, and natural right enhances the notion of human self-worth in the public arena: the one speaks to our sense of fair order, the other to our longing for individual dignity.

Although in modern political theory the relationship between natural law (lex naturalis) and natural right (jus naturale) owes much to Hobbes and Grotius, and even more to its subsequent development through the modern liberal tradition (Locke and the Anglo-American line on the one hand and Kant, Hegel, and the Continental strain on the other hand), one of the more insightful examples of the meaning of this aspect of natural law has been developed in the East European socialist tradition by that singular neo-Marxist, Ernst Bloch. One of Bloch's most important themes in his humanistic approach to socialism is the principle of the "upright carriage." [3] Humanity is a species that is designed by nature to stand up and, in a dignified manner, to hold an erect and straight bearing far above the ground. This attitude of perpetual dignity is a product of our uprightness - our distinction against a level background - and thus our humanity is partially defined as inherently possessing an essential element that is at root noble. Our eyes are not cast down and mired in the present state of what is immediately before us, i.e., the necessity of our given condition; rather our eyes and minds are raised to considerations of our natural status in the universe and the possibilities that extend before us. Such a proposition is a specific rejection of the Soviet view of materialism as the dominant factor in human relations. This is not the sin of pride that troubled the Calvinists, but rather the tempered

[3] Ernst Block, On Karl Marx. (New York: Herder and Herder/Azimuth Books, 1971), pp. 159-173.

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knowledge that ours is a place quite singular in nature, a place defined by the simple manner in which we carry ourselves uprightly, with head and hands well above the ground. Hence for Bloch, the worth of the community is revealed through the manner in which the individual is perceived and supported within public institutions. If we are allowed to hold ourselves aloft in dignity and without shame or fear, then our institutions have succeeded in placing their vast, collective power in the service of our humanity rather than vitiating our humanity through servility to the state. The recognition of inviolate rights, an alien concept in the Soviet belief system, is inherent to us as individuals only by virtue of our humanity and represents an indication of the degree to which a political community and its array of institutions respects the dignity of the free and upright person.

By acknowledging and promising to respect and protect certain primary and irrevocable rights, the state can more successfully foster the growth of a free and knowledgable citizenry. For Hegel, freedom was rooted in the concept of freewill, and was objectively manifested in the state through the notion of right itself, to wit:

> The basis of right is, in general mind; its precise place and point of origin is the will. The will is free, so that freedom is both the substance and goal of right, while the system of right is the realm of freedom made actual . . . "[4]

A community that is at once self-conscious and capable of exercising its will, which is by definition free, exerts the practice of actual freedom through right, and thus the notion of freedom is made actual in the political and legal institutions that represent the rational unity of the state. There is no doubt that human freedom involves much more than either the recognition of rights vaguely understood or the enumeration of rights clearly conveyed can promote; but it is nonetheless evident to careful students of politics that such devices secured and practiced within a state are the minimal requirements toward the construction of a free and open society.

Marx argued that the liberal guarantee of political rights was

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[4] G.W.F. Hegel, *The Philosophy of Right*. Translated by T. M. Knox, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 20.

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only a half-step, an incomplete type of freedom that was premised upon the priority of the egoistic individual.[5] According to Marx, the next step would be to reconcile the atomized, right-coveting individual with the good of the community through the achievment of a more substantial and universal human freedom, which is premised upon the notion that humanity is authentically free only through a heightened awareness of species-being, the knowledge that "we are univeral and therefore free."[6] What Marx failed to understand or admit was that the liberal notion of right was an expression of this same idea. This failure had important consequences for the development of the Soviet system. The notion of right, properly developed, if it is to mean anything at all, must begin with the fair and even treatment of each individual as a free person protected against the possible encroachment of the collective power.

Again, this was understood by Bloch, who criticized socialist theory, the works of Marx, and classical Marxism, for refusing to acknowledge that that the liberal notion of right, which is so essential to its political theory, was not only compatible with the humanistic concerns of non-authoritarian species of socialism, but even a vital part of the same project.[7] Although Bloch never abandoned the central Marxian tenet that freedom cannot be completely affirmed under conditions of economic dependency and the appropriation of resources by the few at the expence of the many, he nonetheless argued that any political organization that is commited to the practical freedom of its citizens must begin with the open and formal guarantee of certain proscriptions against collective power.

The Bolsheviks never accepted the necessity for such a proscription against collective power and, in so doing, paved the way for a totalitarian state. After Locke and the liberal theorists, Bloch states that if one is to "be free," then it means that a person is not imposed upon from the outside. Rather such a person is in the positon of doing what he wills, which appears to him to be his own

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[5] Karl Marx, *Karl Marx: Early Writings*. Translated and edited by T. B. Bottomore, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963), p. 31 and *passim*.

[6] Marx, p. 126.

[7] Ernst Bloch, *Natural Law and Human Dignity*. (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1986), pp. xxviii-xxx, and *passim*.

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free will.[8] Through the exercise of right, this subjective, individual interest is exerted over and against the objective pressures of the state or collective. Thus, the concept and actualization of right is the necessary device for the initial assertion of individual freedom. It is by no means in itself sufficient to promote freedom in its fullest affirmation, but it is in itself necessary to prohibit the power of political or social institutions from encroaching upon the minimal conditions required for individual freedom. The human person is more than body or matter, and human freedom is more than material freedom. The idea of right asserts this principle as fundamental and rejects any Stalinist notions of the necessity for a "dictatorship of the proletariat".

Moldova's Transition to Democracy

Conditions in post-Soviet Moldova illustrate the restrictions on that most necessary component of democracy, individual freedom. A comparison of the repressive institutions of the Soviet era with their functional counterparts in post-Soviet society demonstrates the incomplete nature of political change and the difficulty of a practical application of the concepts of a democratic philosophy.

As noted above, an essential requirement for a democratic state is that limitations be placed on the power of the state to investigate and monitor the activities and beliefs of its citizenry. If the instruments of repression have been clearly limited, it is reasonable to be optimistic about the prospects for the emergence of a free press, open and competitive elections, religious freedom, and those other distinctive features of a democratic society. On the other hand, if the institutions of the old order have simply assumed new forms in a post-communist order, expectations of an emergent democracy are likely to be disappointed. Among the best known Soviet institutions to carefully transform itself after 1991 is the notorious Committee for State Security, best known as the KGB. Under Boris Yeltsin's guidance, the KGB was eventually reconstituted as the Ministry for Security and, with only structural modifications, continues to perform the tasks with which this institution has always been associated. According to many scholars, the new Ministry retains enormous

[8] Bloch, *Natural Law and Human Dignity*, p. 154.

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political and economic power and is using both to establish new bureaucracies both in Russia and elsewhere in the Commonwealth of Independent States.[9] Perhaps even more important, the various elements of the "new" intelligence community operate under direct presidential control and, as a result, can easily be transformed into a repressive apparatus imposing central control of this region.[10]

Like Russia, the Moldovan Republic illustrates the difficulties for development of a democratic order and the persistence of the USSR's authoritarian legacy. Several institutions were instrumental in maintaining the dominant position of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in this provincial outpost of socialism. In Moldova, a nation with a long and brutal history of official repression, the most prominant of those institutions is the National Security Ministry.[11] This institution has inherited not only the main part of the personnel of the Moldovan branch of the former KGB but also all of the KGB's functions. The laws on state security and national security organizations which were adopted by the parliament in 1995 conferred upon the National Security Ministry all of the authorities of the KGB. In addition, the Ministry was also given responsibilities for "profilaktika" or what Westerners refer to as crime prevention. Under this legislation, people may be sued, interrogated, and in various ways penalized for unproven allegations. There are no guarantees for the provison of legal counsel, identification of prosecution witnesses, or even for presenting the accused with detailed and specific information about the allegations against them. Such legislation is a violation of due process and thus tips the balance of justice in favor of the state. Former President Snegur resisted signing this legislation not because of its anti-democratic content but as a result of its limitation of Presidential power. Meanwhile, the laws, which are almost identical to Soviet era legal codes, are being used as guidelines for police and legal practice.

The National Security Ministry today operates within all

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[9] "As Russia Reforms its Security Service, a Question Remains: Where is the KGB?", Post-Soviet/East European Report, Vol. IX, No. 40, 15 December 1992, p. 2.

[10] Michael Joseph Kozakavich, "The Skeleton in the Russian President's Closet", Transition, Vol. 2, No. 22, 1 November 1996, pp. 14-18.

[11] Vasile Nedelciuc, *The Republic of Moldova: A Short History*, (Chisinau, May, 1992), pp. 28-29.

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branches of the national government as well as within public organizations such as trade unions. All institutions, universities as well as factories, are subject to the supervision and intervention of the Ministry. It monitors telephone conversations and private correspondence of all Moldovan citizens. Receipt of a package from a Western nation generally necessitates a journey to a remote special post office on the outskirts of Chisinau. For many Moldovan professionals, visits to the West still require official permission, a task that is performed by the National Security Ministry today just as the KGB did this during the Soviet era. Would-be travelers must go to the same office that was occupied by the former KGB and complete the same Russian-language documentation used prior to 1991. These practices entail a double sin against democratic practice, for in enabling the Ministry to interfere in the operation of so many layers of government, the dispersal of power requisite to democracy is negated, and by allowing unrestricted monitoring of private commentary, the "zone of privacy", indispensible for the democratic state, is erased.

Numerous accounts of Ministry activities have been presented in the Moldovan Parliament by members of all of the parliamentary factions. During Moldova's 1996 presidential campaign, it became evident that the Ministry was devoted to serving the interests of specific political factions rather than the interests of the entire nation. Weaker groups, particularly those that have been antagonisitic to the ruling Agrarian Democratic Party, have been singled out for repressive measures. One of the most prominent targets of harassment has been the Metropolitan Church of Bessarabia, a church whose official existence has been denied by the Agrarian Democratic government. Again, one sees evidence of an egregious denial of freedom of conscience and freedom of association, two hallmarks of democratic communities.

In post-Soviet Moldova, freedom of association is further denied in secular associations. A specific responsibility, albeit an unofficial one, of this Ministry is to monitor the activity of opposition leaders and their political organizations. Just as the Border Guards constituted one of the main directorates of the former KGB, Moldova's border guard units are subordinated to the National Security Ministry. In this capacity, the border guards maintain records of any foreign travel by members of opposition parties. At the

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frontier, foreign visitors who are identified with members of opposition parties are routinely interrogated by border guard officials who attempt to determine not only the nature of visitors' relationships with the opposition but also possible sources of financial support for opposition parties. Soviet style searches are often conducted in an effort to more closely monitor contacts between opposition groups and citizens of Western states.

Freedom of the Press

Journalists constituted one of the most influential groups working for perestroika in the former USSR. This Soviet experience was replicated in Moldova where many of the country's most prominent literary figures devoted themselves exclusively to journalism in an effort to break the Communist Party monopoly on information. Most observers agree that Moldova's emancipation would not have been possible without the activities of such individuals. Yet, within a short time, the independent Moldovan media found itself in a struggle for survival, facing both economic as well as political challenges. Moldova's economic plight has created many hardships for the media, ranging all the way from subscription prices that are beyond the reach of the average citizen to barriers to the technical modernization of the media. Not surprisingly, most periodicals still have the shoddy appearance of the Soviet era publications.[12] The nation's political plight has produced even more impediments to the proper functioning of a free media.

In Moldova only one public Radio and TV broadcasting network covers the entire national territory. There are only two newspapers - *Moldova Suverana*, in Romanian, and *Nezavisimaia Moldova*, in the Russian language - with national subscriptions. Radio, television, and these two newspapers are instruments designed to enhance governmental control over Moldovan society. Contrary to the principle of an independent press, the public mass media consistently serve the interests of the nation's ruling party and are used for the political, moral, and psychological persecution of opponents of the Agrarian Democratic Party. No democracy can be sustained when the

[12] Vladimir Socor, "Moldova", RFE/RL Research Report, Vol. 1, No. 39, 2 October 1992, pp. 77-78.

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media is used as a tool to eliminate dissent. Indeed, as John Stuart Mill argued, dissenting opinion should actually be *encouraged* in order to insure open and democratic discourse.

After the parliamentary elections of February, 1994, when the Agrarian Democratic Party won the majority of seats in the Parliament, the political parties outside the governmental circle lost access to those means of mass communication having the greatest impact on the electorate. The public simply does not have exposure to their opinions. Non-governmental, professional, youth or other organizations, as well as famous scientists, actors, artists who express their personal pro-reformist. democratic views, or critical attitudes about the government, are not allowed on the air, especially on TV programs.

The leadership of the public broadcasting institutions is appointed by the Parliament. Candidates are nominated by the Co-ordinating Broadcasting Board, which in turn is made up of nine members appointed by the Parliament (3 members), President (3 members) and Cabinet (3 members). Therefore, through this arrangement, the governing party ensures its control over all public broadcasting institutions.

Citing restrictions imposed by a shortage of electricity, authorities deprive large rural areas of the country of their right to watch television programs about the country's political and socio-economic situation by simply disconnecting the electrical supply. This practice was particularly widespread during the 1994 and 1995 electoral campaigns at times when the opposition parties were presenting their electoral platforms. Opposition parties and their supporters were denied access to other public mass media such as national or local newspapers and magazines. While financed by tax revenues from all Moldovan citizens, these media serve only the governing party and its allies.

The opposition press in Moldova, six years after the collapse of the repressive Soviet system, remains weak and ineffectual. The country's general economic situation, characterized by excessively high prices for paper, office rentals, printing and distribution services as well as inefficient manufacturing techniques and very low wages for prospective readers means that opposition papers are not accessible to the general public. Since there is only one press distribution network, many publications do not even reach their subscribers.

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Frequently, they cannot be purchased individually or by subscription in certain remote areas of the country.

The persecution of whistle-blowing journalists is another effective technique used to suppress critical media. Russian police recently arrested an exiled Uzbek journalist, originally charged with "slander against the Soviet state" by Uzbek authorities, in order to prepare for his extradition to Uzbekistan where he still faces prosecution by local authorities.[13] The Moldovan press has had similar experiences and, in 1994 and 1995, a group of journalists who published reports embarassing to the government were dismissed from their positions at the State Broadcasting Company, Moldova's only national television-radio network. Even physical assaults have been used as an instrument of suppression. In December, 1995, writers for the opposition weekly *Mesagerul* were attacked by a group of individuals wearing police uniforms. As a result of the attack, Tamara Gorincioi, who had written a report exposing criminal activities undertaken by employees of the Ministry of Interior, along with her husband, sustained serious injuries and required hospitalization.[14] The editors-in-chief of district newspapers in Rezina and Anenii Noi, two villages near the Dniester River, were dismissed from those positions simply because of their membership in an opposition political party. From 1992 through 1995, a series of harassing legal actions were taken against the opposition papers *Mesagerul*, *Literatura si Arta*, *Tara*, and *Glasul Natiuni* in an effort to force their editorial staffs to reject articles critical of the government. Even foreign correspondents accredited in Chisinau became targets of official persecution when their reports caused embarassment for government officials. In 1994 and 1995, targets included George Constantin of *Fance Press*, Constantin Ionescu of *Rompress*, and *Romania Libera* correspondent Mihai Vicol who was eventually deported because of his refusal to accept official restriction in his reporting.[15]

Moldova's 1995 press law ensures that this situation is unlikely

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[13] *Russia Reform Monitor*, No. 235, 28 February 1997.

[14] "Colega Noastra Tamara Gorincioi Maltrata Impreuna cu Sotul la Domiciliu", Mesagerul (Chisinau), 5 January 1996, p. 1.

[15] "Actul de Persecutare a Ziaristilor Tamara Gorincioi si Dumitru Ciobanu", *Mesagerul* (Chisinau), 12 January 1996, p. 1.

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to change in the near future. Under this restrictive legislation, publication of any material which "defames the state and the people" is expressly forbidden. In addition, the law bans the printing of any information that is "damaging to a person's honor and dignity". As a result of such broad restrictions, the practice of taking a paper to court in a libel suit has become a major legal activity in Moldova. While president, Mircea Snegur routinely used such law suits in an effort to silence newspapers critical of his policies. The law's requirement that all publications re-register with the government within an abnormally short time period was also used as an instrument for the suppression of independent newspapers. Only 70 of Moldova's 567 media establishments were able to meet the re-registration deadline.[16]

As a result of these conditions, most of the electorate does not understand the significant changes that have been taking place in Moldovan society. Because voters are rarely informed about the provisions of new legislation, political ignorance has become an important ally of the government. People are not only uninformed about the new political parties and their platforms, but they are discouraged from contacting them or even listening to their programs. Consequently, public opinion is almost totally controlled by the old communist era bureaucracy and the Party nomenklatura which constituted the core of the Agrarian Democratic Party. In fact, it is not really possible to speak of public opinion within the context of Moldovan politics as we would use that term with reference to Western democratic systems.

Freedom of Speech and Public Assembly

As noted above, democratic theory maintains that a democratic state must insure freedom of conscience and association in order to maintain a vigorous democratic environment. Moldova's post-Soviet experience demonstates the difficulty of achieving this goal. A major impediment to achievement of such a goal is the Moldovan secret police (Ministry of National Security), which is the successor to the former Moldovan KGB. This organization continues to monitor

[16] Dan Ionescu, "Slow Emancipation in the Republic of Moldova", *Transition*, Vol. 1, No. 18, 6 October 1995.

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telephone conversations and private correspondence. These practices have been reported in opposition press accounts and the question of monitoring private phone calls has been raised in the plenary session of the Parliament by several deputies representing all the factions of the legislative branch, not simply opposition parties. Even Parliamentary deputies have experienced the practice of having personal correspondence from abroad opened by police authorities.

Such practices are more than simple deviations from the legal norm. In fact, in 1995 the Parliament passed a "Law on the State Security" which legalized most of the activities of the former KGB. This legislation authorized numerous measures associated with "crime prevention", thus allowing police agents to work freely in all branches of the national government, public as well as private organizations and institutions, and all enterprises whether they be state owned or privately owned.

Free Elections

With severe restrictions on the press, the formalization of a special role for a secret police organization, and financial restrictions on the opposition parties, it is not possible to have completely free and fair elections. Although foreign observers during Moldova's 1995 elections concluded they were conducted fairly and honestly, all opposition parties and even representatives of some political parties close to the governmental alliance as well as many local observers and several well-known personalities have pointed out the many violations of electoral laws at the polls and, more importantly, during the tabulation of votes.

Several factors have contributed to the prevention of completely fair elections in this aspiring democratic state. One of the most important has been the creation of electoral commissions by a local administrations which have prevented the direct involvement of non-governmental organizations, civic groups, and representatives of political parties. As a result, Moldovan election commissions generally function without significant representation outside the ranks of governing party supporters. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that incomplete or falsified voter registration lists have been routinely submitted and that election tallies are frequently modified on the spot to meet the electoral demands of the ruling party.

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In addition, the right of citizens to unrestricted information about political parties involved in political campaigns is violated through an inaccurate and partisan use of the public mass-media, discriminatory treatment applied to the opposition candidates by local authorities, various restrictions on candidates' popular meetings, and intimidation of opposition rallies by representatives or supporters of the governing alliance. Many of those are appointed officials in the local administrative and economic bodies who create a unfavorable environment for all parties except the governing alliance and former communist leaders.

The electoral process is further inhibited by reprisals taken against supporters of opposition parties. Immediately after the 1994 parliamentary elections and again after the local elections in 1995 many members of opposition groups were forced to choose between continuing their party membership or keeping their jobs. Others were given no choice and simply dismissed from their jobs without any warning. Every effort was made to insure maximum humiliation for individuals seen as a threat to the government. In one case, an entire governmental department which had employed a large number of prominent opposition party members, was completely shut down. Villages, in particular, have been the focal point for repressive activities. In such small communities, where surveillance is relatively easy, the opposition is denied the right to freely conduct campaigns and opposition supporters and their families are aware of the personal dangers they face by being outspoken. Such appaling conditions are reminiscent of the old sham democracy of the Soviet era. Voter turnout notwithstanding, electoral choice was completely eradicated due to the political monoculture of that system.

Discriminatory Dismissals from Work

Additional violations of the right to freedom of association have occured even in the area of employment. There were numerous cases of mass firings in Moldova immediately following the 1994 parliamentary and 1995 local elections, most of them on the basis of political conviction or membership to political parties. These actions have occured as a result of the official policy of Agrarian Democratic Party (ADP) to remove representatives or followers of opposition parties from central and local public administratie organizations. Faced with a disadvantage against the power of the state owing to the

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lack of due process, most of the victims of this practice are afraid that their situations could get even worse if they appealed to legal authorities about the actions taken against them by the authorities. The fact that many judiciary bodies are reputed to be either corrupt or completely subservient to the government discourages such appeals. In addition to the cases of human rights violations against journalists mentioned above, numerous people lost jobs because of their political opinions. Dismissals generally target those individuals serving in positions once classified as part of the nomenklatura during the communist era. In other words, people holding sensitive or influential positions are likely to be dismissed for holding affiliations counter to those of Moldova's ruling party. For example, one prominent victim was Vasile Para, the mayor of Ungheni, one of Moldova's larger towns, who was dismissed in 1995 while another was the manager of the state-owned airline company in Chisinau. During this same period, three school principals in the Orhei district as well as principals in Chisinau and Rezina district were also dismissed. Opposition party members in local executive committees and governmental departments have been frequent victims of such repressive measures and, in one particularly insulting case, even a medical nurse was fired for political reasons.

Discrimination Based on Religious Beliefs

Since Moldova proclaimed its independence, many Orthodox Christians who belonged to parishes where the Romanian language, the native tongue of the majority of population, has been used for their religious services have expressed a desire to re-establish the Metropolitan Church of Bessarabia under the guardianship of the Romanian Orthodox Church. The Metropolitan Church of Bessarabia was banned after 1940 when Soviet troops occupied this territory and Soviet officials destroyed almost all of the region's churches and monasteries. The process of physical restoration of the monasteries did not begin until the final days of the Soviet Union.[17]

After the collapse of the USSR, the Moldovan government openly encouraged and recognized the establishment of the Moldovan

[17] Vladimir Besleaga, "Bisericile si Manasterile sub Regimul Totalitar Comunist in R.S.S.M.", Destin Romanesc, (Chisinau), No. 1, 1996, pp. 121-136.

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Metropolitan Church, an organization subordinated to the Russian Patriarch. However, authorites refused to recognize the Metropolitan Church of Bessarabia, offering no legal justification to support this decision. Priests and followers of this church are denied the opportunity to express their religious beliefs and are subject to both private and public intimidation. Only the democratic oppositon parties have expressed alarm about discrimination against religious organizations often viewed as pro-Romanian. While Moldova's opposition press has reported these incidents, the national mass media has ignored them.

Priests of the Metropolitan Church of Bessarabia are subject to unusually severe govermental persecution which has been designed to discourage the operations of this church. One especially brutal act of persecution took place in August, 1996, when an unidentified individual threw a hand grenade into the residence of the bishop of the Metropolitan Church. In another example of violent intimidation, a priest was attacked on a Chisinau street and beaten to death. Police responses to such incidents have been very restrained and, as of today, no arrests have been made for any of the violent attacks against priests and believers of the Metropolitan Church.

Economic and Social Discriminations

Like the majority of East-European and former communists states, Moldova faces enormous economic and social difficulties. The Moldovan government, although strongly supported by Western industrialized countries, has accomplished little in its efforts to improve the overall standard of living. Limitations on the economic transformation of Moldova are illustrated by the general slowdown of agricultural reforms, the perpetuation of a huge, inefficient bureaucracy totally opposed to democratic reforms, discriminatory legislation that hinders private initiative, and a continuing and extremely expensive reliance on Russian suppliers of energy resources and raw materials. The fact that the Snegur government generally excluded opposition leaders from any role in economic decision-making insured that the pace of reforms remained slow.

As a result of this situation, most Moldovans citizens are deprived of what had long been regarded as fundamental economic and social rights, benefits presumably guaranteed by the Constitution. As an illustration, one might note that individuals working in state-

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owned businesses do not receive equitable and satisfactory wages or, in fact, even regular payment of their very low wages. As a result, such workers can no longer feel assured of a decent living for themselves and their families. Salaries, which usually are in the range of $35 per month, are often delayed for periods of three to six months. These individuals, of course, are fortunate in comparison with the many Moldovans who now find themselves out of work and thus forced to live in poverty. Pensioners and disabled citizens who are supposed to receive monthly allocations must endure similar delays in receipt of their payments. Under such harsh conditions, most people are unable to pay for basic expenses such as medical care, housing estate rentals, and utilities. The payments they receive are hardly enough for food and post-Soviet governments have been unable to guarantee the services promised by the Constitution.

The Right to Private Property

As Soviet control was established in Soviet Moldova, not only mass terror but also the confiscation and nationalization of private property served as instruments for this process.[18] With the eventual collapse of the USSR, a return to private property became one of the most prominent reformist concerns. In all former communist East European countries, including the Baltic states, the newly elected governments have agreed, often at the urging of Western democracies, to return to former owners their confiscated or nationalized property or to offer them appropriate compensations. This factor contributed to an acceleration of democratic and economic reforms in these countries. In the case of Moldova, most of the industrial property was built in the Soviet-era, and most private real estate was destroyed during and after WWII. Consequently, the factors which hastened fundamental land reform elsewhere are absent in Moldova. Acting as the majority in Parliament, the Agrarian Democratic Party passed a Land Law that penalized former owners or their heirs. Penalties were especially severe for those who no longer work or who didn't work directly in state or collective farms during the Soviet regime. The law allowed certain land areas to be

[18] Ion Siscanu, "Techologia Instaurarii Regimului Totalitar Bolsevic in Sjpatiul Dintre Prut si Nistru", *Arena Politicii*, July, 1996, pp. 5-6.

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privatized but only if work was done on a collective basis, as during the Soviet era. Through this presumably "democratic" procedure, people who do actually have a little land are unable to obtain adequate farm equipment. They are unable to have even the equipment that might have been under their control as members of former state or collective farms and are denied bank loans needed to begin their own businesses. Thus, they are forced to form "new" collective joint ventures which are, in reality, controlled by the old communist leaders.

As a result of the Agrarian legislation, peasants desiring private ownership of their land are denied this privilege, thus paralyzing private initiative in agriculture. Moreover, the efficiency of economic activity in this domain is constantly decreasing because old economic structures are preserved in order to maintain the power of the old nomenclatura. Peasants who express an interest in acquiring land under the provisions of the Land Law are persecuted either by the managers of the old collective or state farms or by other representatives of local governmental authority. As a result, only about 5% of Moldova's peasants have been able to acquire land in the three year period following implementation of the Land Law. The few who have been successful in obtaining their own land have generally been unable to secure the inventory of equipment promised by the legislation. Consequently, privatization in the countryside has produced poverty rather than the promised increased productivity. This desperate situation enables the former nomenklatura to tighten its control on rural areas and exercise control over these regions during election campaigns.

The mass privatization of the Soviet-era industrial patrimony in exchange for vouchers previously distributed free to the population, was carried out under legislation which is discriminatory against stockholders and especially foreign investors who could improve Moldova's old-fashioned industry by supplying it with new technologies and raw materials. Consequently, the system degenerated into a process of bringing profits only to those in power who have used their influence through questionable transactions to monopolize public goods for their personal or group interests.

Limits on Self-Government

Democratic government is not confined to the ballot box.

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Societal democracies depend on the creation of a body of citizens who are capable of meaningful participation in governmental office. This requires a reasonable distribution of power but the current territorial-administrative division of the Republic of Moldova gives local public administration essentially the same powers in held under the Soviet system. An exaggerated number of local districts employing numerous public officials, who need extra government funds to get paid, can never ensure an efficient public administration. What this arrangement does is help maintain the influence of the Agrarian Democratic Party among local communities and the entire society. The failure to decentralize state power represents a serious impediment on the way to a reformed democratic society and a higher standard of living. At the same time, Law on local Public Administration denies equal opportunities to other political parties in free elections, but simply ensures that there is no threat to the dominaton of the governing party over local local councils and executive offices.

Authorities can now check on representative institutions even in places where this political party did not win the elections. In order to facilitate this, the Law on Public Administration provides several antidemocratic clauses. Among the most prominent is a provision whereby the presidents of District Executive Committees (individuals who run local executive boards and local councils as well) and large city mayors are no longer elected by popular vote, but are instead "selected" by the Cabinet and the President from among local council members and then formally appointed by those councils. Another feature of the law makes it possible for presidents if district executive committees and any mayors, including those elected at all levels to be dismissed from their office by the national President upon recommendation of the Cabinet if they no longer serve, in the opinion of the governing party, the interests of local communities. Provisions of the law also make it possible for activities of local councils, elected by the population, to be suspended by the Parliament upon recommendation of the Cabinet, and village and small city mayors can be removed from their positions upon recommendation of the Cabinet if local councils, composed mainly of governing party representatives, find them inappropriate for office.

The necessary preconditions for democratic government do not yet exist in Moldova. These preconditions are effectively summarized

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by Aristotle in his definition of citizenship: a citizen is one who knows how to both rule and be ruled as a free person. Until such citizenry is allowed to emerge, the word "democracy" is little more than a fool's illusion and a shameful mockery. The formation of a new state on the basis of the old Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic is, therefore, an incomplete process. Preoccupied with establishing a sense of identity, the Moldovan system has failed to establish a sense of procedural democracy.[19] Consequently, the democratic transformation of Moldova remains an incomplete process and citizens have yet to realize the full extent of democratic rights and freedoms associated with Western democratic states.

[19] Igor Munteanu, "Itinerarii Pentru o Intelegere a Sistemului Politic din Republica Moldova", *Arena Politicii*, (Chisinau), Number 4, October, 1996, pp. 16-19.

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Turkey: From Étatism to a More Liberal Economy

Coskun Can Aktan
George Mason University

Turkey is currently experiencing an Islamic reaction against the securalism of Kemal Ataturk. The author traces the history of the "Westernization" of the Turkish economy, which those who believe that this trend would be threatened by Islamic fundamentalism. He shows how this had initially been supported by étatism, a protectionist system of state initiatives, which was more recently replaced by a policy of economic liberalization involving privatization and the reduction of trade barriers.

Key Words: Turkey, Kemal Ataturk, Étatism, Protectionism, Free Market Economy, Privatization

The Development of the Turkish Economy

A. 1923-1930 Period: The New Republic Years

Turkey gained its secular form under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal – popularly known Ataturk – on 23 April 1920, and proclaimed itself a Republic on 29 October 1923. At the time of proclamation of the Republic, the Turkish economy was weak, its infrastructure had been destroyed during the national independence struggle. Moreover, it was founded on the social and economic heritage of the Ottoman Empire, and was totally devoid of the economic wealth that had characterized the older Empire. It had a heavy burden of debt and an economic structure that had collapsed completely:

> There were only 182 operating industrial establishments of a non-artisan character, employing a mere 14.060 workers and employees. Of this labor force, 70 percent were engaged in the production of wool and cotton yarn, cloth and raw silk, in flour mills and in tobacco processing. These activities, represented 78 percent

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of industrial production, were the main body of Ottoman industry.[1]

Thus the new Turkish Republic had few public enterprises, these being mainly composed of the following textile and armament manufacturers founded during the Ottoman Empire.[2]

- Beykoz Military Equipment Factory, established to manufacture military shoes, boots, belts, etc. in 1835.
- Cap Factory, established to manufacture broadcloth, caps and blankets in 1835.
- Izmit Factory, established to produce broadcloth and military uniforms in 1845.
- Hereke Factory; a textile manufacture industry in which velvet and satin were made, which started to operate in 1845.
- Zeytinburnu Factory, established to manufacture cotton and various cloths in 1855.

The number of the public enterprises in the Ottoman era failed to grow because the Ottoman Empire was heavily indebted to foreign countries and the Ottoman government was not able to implement protective tariff policies. Political turmoil, as well as foreign debt, had negative effects on the establishment of public enterprises, and a large part of the Empire's infrastructure had been destroyed during the World War and the National Independence Struggle (1920-1923).

In a speech to the Turkish Grand National Assembly on March 1, 1922 Ataturk focused on the importance of economic development. One year later, as chairman of "Anadolu and Rumeli Mudafa-i Hukuk Cemiyeti" (Association for the Defence of Anatolia and Territories of the European Continent Particularly Thrace), he issued a series of proposals to promote the import of agricultural machinery, for the manufacture of commodities using domestic raw materials, for the construction of railways, the modernization of schools, and the productive utilization of forests and mines.

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[1] Korkut Boratav, "Kemalist Economic Policies and Étatism", in Ataturk: Founder of A Modern State, ed. Ali Kazancigil and Ergun Ozbudun, (London: C.Hurst Co. 1981), 165.

[2] Coskun Can Aktan, Kamu Iktisadi Tesebbusleri ve Ozellestirme, (Izmir: Bilkom Matb. 1987),47.; For more information about the public enterprises established in the first phase of the economic development, see Morris Singer, The Economic Advance of Turkey, 1923-1960, (Ankara: Ayyildiz Matbaasi, 1977).

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An economic congress was convened in Izmir in 1923 and the new Republic's first and most important decisions concerning its economic system were taken at this congress. Two crucial policy issues were debated at length in this congress: the role of the government and the role of the foreign capital in the development of economy. Minister of Economy, Mahmut Esat Bozkurt outlined the main principles of the new government's economic policy at the Izmir Economic Congress as follows:

> We are not attached to laissez-faire, socialist, communist, étatist or protectionist schools of thought. We have a new school of thought, which belongs to the new Turkey and corresponds to a new economic outlook. ... The new Turkish economic school should follow a new mixed economic system. Economic enterprises should be undertaken partly by the state and partly by private individuals. For example, the state should direct large scale credit and industrial undertakings.[3] .... We will not hand over Turkey, or the Turkish economy, as a country of slaves to foreign capital. However, we are prepared to recognize every kind of facility, even more than shown by other nations, to foreign capital, willing to live and earn in a legitimate manner, on condition that it conforms to our laws and regulations and is not granted more privileges than Turks.[4]

The major decisions taken at the Izmir Economic Congress were extending credit to private entrepreneurs, selling land to individuals for the establishment of industrial facilities, enacting laws concerning the encouragement of private sector activities and protecting domestic industry against outside competition.

In sum, the responsibility for economic development were assigned to both the private and the public sectors at this congress "... the task of the state begins where the activity of private enterprise ends."[5]

Although a mixed economic policy model was accepted at the congress, a purely liberal economic model was followed until the end

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[3] William Hole, The Political and Economic Development of Modern Turkey, (London: Croom Helm, 1981), 40.

[4] Ibid.,40.

[5] Z.Y. Hershlag, "Ataturk's étatism", in Ataturk and the Modernization of Turkey, ed. Jacop M. Kanda, (The Netherlands: West View Press, 1984), 174.

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of the decade, when the serious deficiencies that hindered the growth of the private sector finally compelled the government to interfere in the economy. During the first decade of the Republic, only one publicly-owned bank, the Isbank, was established. The main duty of this bank was to extend credits to various sectors such as mining, industry, commerce etc, followed in 1925 by the Industrial and Mineral Bank. The latter bank also aimed to administer the textile and armament manufacturers (Beykoz Military Equipment Factory, Zeytinburnu Factory etc.) temporarily, since the government intended to sell these establishments to the private sector, although it ultimately failed to do so due to lack of capital in the private sector.

In May 28, 1927, the government enacted the Law for the Encouragement of Industry to initiate and foster private sector activities. The major provisions of the law can be summarized as follows:

- The law authorized the gift of public lands up to 10 hectares free of charge to entrepreneurs for the construction of plant or facilities,
- The law exempted private enterprises from telephone and telegraph charges,
- Private enterprises were exempted from the payment various taxes such as the Immoveable Property Tax and Land Tax.
- The law provided that materials needed for the construction of the enterprise be free of customs duties if they were unobtainable in the country, or can not be produced locally on an adequate scale. Such machinery, equipment and building materials would also be granted a price reduction of 30 percent on railway transport and shipping. This reduction could also be applied to other products and raw materials by special government decree.
- According to the law, industrial enterprises could be granted a subsidy of up to 10 percent of its yearly output value.
- By a special government decree, the law permitted the government, upon the recommendation of the Ministry of Commerce to issue permits for reduced prices of salt, alcohol and explosive materials.
- Government institutions, municipalities, companies and enterprises benefitting from the law were obliged to purchase the products of the encouraged enterprises rather than foreign products if the local quality and quantity are adequate, even if the price of the local

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product was up to 10 percent higher.[6]

In sum, through first decade of the Republic, much room was accorded the private sector, only the activities of a few public enterprises with monopoly features were excluded. Other economic policies introduced and implemented at that time were geared to spreading the private ownership of land by appropriating land for landless farmers and migrants, extending state credits for capital accumulation in agriculture, promoting the development of private enterprises, protecting domestic production by customs policies, and restricting external borrowing. However, the insufficiency of capital accumulation in the private sector and the Great Depression that erupted in 1929 forced the government's direct intervention in the economy.

B. 1931-1949 Period: The Era of Statism (Étatism)

The period from 1931 until the end of the following decade constituted a new era in the Turkish economic history. In 1931, the Republican People's Party officially announced at the Third Grand Congress that economic growth would be achieved by active governmental intervention, under a policy of "étatism" in order to "ensure the welfare of the nation and the prosperity of the state."[7] Étatism[8] was accepted as a method or a strategy for economic development in this period.[9]

Bernard Lewis has described étatism "as the intervention of the state as a pioneer and director of industrial activity, in the interests of national development and security, in a country, in which private enterprise is either suspect or ineffective,"[10] but Ataturk described étatism as:

> a system peculiar to Turkey, which has evolved from the

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[6] Kerim Sayan, Turkish étatism with Special Reference to the Textile Industry in Turkey, (Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1968), 15.

[7] Hershlag, "Ataturk's étatism", 174.

[8] The principles of the Republican People's Party were mainly six: étatism, Republicanism, Nationalism, Secularism, Populism, Revolution. These six principles were represented by the symbol of six arrows and incorporated into the constitution.

[9] Sayan, Turkish étatism, 1.

[10] Bernard Lewis, Turkey Today, (London: Hutchinson. 1952), 49.

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> principle of the private activity of the individual, but places on the state responsibility for the national economy to do quickly things, which have not been done throughout centuries in the Turkish Motherland by individual or private activity. It is a system different from liberalism.[11]

The Industrial and Mineral Bank was abolished in 1932 and in place, two new public enterprises were created: The Office of Government Industries by government decree No. 2058 and the Turkish Industrial Credit Bank by government decree No. 2064. The business activities of the Industrial and Mineral Bank were transferred to the Office of Government, and its banking to the Turkish Industrial Credit Bank. When these two enterprises were not successful, their activities were brought to an end in 1933, and the Sumerbank, a public holding company, was established to finance the manufacture textile products and extend credit to the private sector.

During the étatism era, the First Five Year Industry Plan (FFYIP) was drawn up in 1933, and put into effect in the following year. The first plan focused on the chemical, textile and earthenware industries, with no effort to attract private investment. It was a great success. There was a large expansion of the area cultivated for agricultural purposes, and an increased in public sector investment in mining and energy with the establishment of the Minerals and Research Institute, Etibank (dealing with banking and mining), and the Electricity Survey Administration. The right to extract hard coal and copper was bought back from foreign partners, and mineral exploration and extraction activities were intensified throughout the country.

Alongside the investments of the public sector in these fields, the private sector set up weaving plants in the Cukurova and Aegean regions. Sugar imports were discontinued due to the increase in the number of local sugar plants. public and private sector investments

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[11] Hershlag, "Ataturk's étatism", 176. Z.H. Hershlag points out that étatism was an almost inescapable solution to the economic problems that Turkey faced in the early 1930's. Furthermore, he went on to say that étatism proposed government interventionism before the Keynesians. He asserted that Keynes analyzed the post-war economic crises and called for a more rational allocation of resources through state interventionism, when private enterprise cannot or will not play its part. However, these views were expressed by ists earlier. See: Hershlag, "Ataturk's Etatism", 175.

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also increased considerably, and output above domestic demand was exported. An iron-steel mill was built in Karabuk in partnership with the British.[12]

Following FFYIP, the Second Five Year Industry Plan (SFYIP), covering the period of 1938-1942, focused on mining, power, machinery and the construction of cement and sugar factories. However, this plan could not be completely implemented due to World War II, which broke out a year after the plan went into effect.

During the war years, a major part of national resources was allocated to defense, causing other production to fall. External trade relations were disrupted. After war ended, the Third Five Year Industry Plan (TFYIP) was drafted, although it never went into effect.

C. 1950-1959 Period: The Move toward Economic Liberalism

The 1950's constitute an important period in the economic history of Turkey. In 1950, the first multi-party elections were held in Turkey, and the Democrat Party (DP) gained victory on May 14, 1950. Under the leadership of Celal Bayar and Adnan Menderes, this party opposed Étatism, and a liberal economic policy was undertaken in the economic field. The DP program, which was read in the Turkish Grand National Assembly on 29th of May 1950, declared that:

> Hereafter, government will not operate in the fields which have not "public service" characteristics, and the public enterprises established for different purposes – except those that have been doing a public service and those operating in the field of main industries – will be gradually sold to the private sector in a program.[13]

However, Article 43 of the DP resolved that:

> Government will undertake activities where private capital is inadequate and activities related to the defense of the country.

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[12] The Prime Ministry, Directorate General of Press and Information, Turkey, Yearbook, (Ankara: 1993), 26-29.

[13] Memduh Yasa, Iktisadi Meselelerimiz, (Istanbul: Nurettin Uygun Matb. 1966), 49.

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> Government will also build heavy industry and power plants, construct railroads, ports and water supply and operate the mining and forestry.[14]

President Celal Bayar, in his speech to the Grand National Assembly Inauguration in November 1950, said that:

> A democratic economic policy can be defined as a system based on private property, protecting individual freedom and emphasizing the importance of private enterprise. Government should be responsible for only special tasks related to commercial businesses and the main duties of the government should be specially to encourage, regulate and control the economic activities, at the same time, providing a wide and secure field of work for private enterprises by preparing the legal and economic structure.[15]

However, despite the effort of the Democrat Party to implement a liberal economic policy, government activities continued to expand in the 1950's. New public enterprises were established and it proved impossible to sell off public enterprises to the private sector..

During this period, there was a revival in the agricultural sector. Important development also took place in the industry and mining sectors. Demand for Turkish exports of agricultural products grew, partially due to the Korean War and the rebuilding of Europe. The Turkish Industrial Development Bank was established to provide finance to the private sector, and further expansion occurred in Machinery and Chemicals, Cement, Coal, Petroleum, Iron and Steel, Paper and Cellulose, and Meat and Fish.

However, toward the end of the decade, economic conditions started to deteriorate. Increasing imports resulted in a deficit in the balance of foreign trade. The Turkish currency was devalued in 1958. As a result of these developments, it became necessary to implement new measures and government was again called on play a central role in the economy.

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[14] Ibid., 47.

[15] Bilsay Kuruc, Iktisat Politikasinin Resmi Belgeleri, (Ankara: AU.SBF Yayinevi, 1963), 144.

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D. 1960-1980 Period: Planned Years and Mixed Economy

From the beginning of 1960 until the end of the 1970's, Turkey followed a mixed economic policy. A First Five Year Development Plan was drawn up on the principle that: "The activities of the government will be planned to achieve a high economic growth and a balanced economic development."[16]

Under this Plan, the government attempted to initiate and foster economic growth and development, as well as to re-distribute income and wealth. In addition to establishing new public enterprises, measures were taken to encourage private sector activities and import tariffs were raised in order to protect Turkish industries against outside competition while they were still in their infancy.

The Second Five Year Development Plan, which covered the period of 1968-1972, reaffirmed the mixed economic system and elaborated its basic principles:[17]

> - The basic objective of the mixed economy system is to accelerate development by mobilizing all the resources and potential of the country through the framework of a better distribution of resources among economic and social activities.
> - The mixed economy system will be employed as a tool capable of ensuring an equitable and balanced development in the efforts towards improving the welfare of the Turkish nation.
> - Although the second plan is imperative for the public sector, it serves as a guide and support for the private sector and it helps individuals explore and develop their enterprising potential.
> - The rules of the mixed economy system will be clearly defined and the drawbacks of the existing system will be quickly removed.

A Third Five Year Development Plan (1973-1977) also focused on the importance of government's active role in economic development but with little effect. The great oil shock of 1973-1974 had a detrimental effect on the economy, and hampered its effectiveness. Following an Interim plan for 1978, a Fourth Five Year Development Plan covering the period of 1979-1983 was introduced, but it also failed to prevent such economic problems as the severe

[16] See: Aktan, Kamu Iktisadi Tesebbusleri ve Ozellestirme. 39.
[17] Ibid., 109-110.

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foreign exchange bottleneck, high inflation rate, rising unemployment, and a new devaluation of the Turkish currency. Because economic problems were coupled with a high level of political turmoil, Turkey experiences a major political and social crisis, involving growing labor strikes and terrorism.

E. Post-1980 Period: Towards a Free Market Economy

As indicated by the previous remarks, a mixed economy had dominated the Turkish economic system since the foundation of the Turkish Republic. All the Five Year Development Plans focused on the importance of government's role in initiating and fostering private sector activities.

But during the 1980s, Turkey moved from an inward-oriented étatist strategy, called "mixed economy" to an outward-oriented free market economy. On January 24, 1980, the government introduced a comprehensive set of stabilization and structural adjustment measures aimed primarily at curbing inflation, overcoming the scarcities that hindered production, and reducing the foreign trade deficit through the promotion of exports and trade liberalization. Stabilization measures were introduced on January 24, 1980 whereby:[18]

- The Turkish lira was devalued 33 percent. After that, the Central bank began to adjust the exchange rate with increasing frequency to compensate for differences in inflation rates between Turkey and its major industrial partners. Over the 1981-1988 period, the Lira was depreciated in real terms on average by about 4 percent a year.
- By the January 24, 1980 measures, the Price Control Committee was abolished, ending government control over private sector prices. Public enterprises became free to set their own prices in accordance with production costs and demand. Also the range of the basic commodities, for which subsidies were given was reduced considerably. Subsidies were to be given for coal, electricity (for ferro-chrome and aluminum production only) fertilizers and maritime shipment of goods.

[18] Rusdu Saracoglu, "Economic Stabilization and Structural Adjustment: The Case of Turkey", Prepared for the IMF-World Bank Symposium on Growth Oriented Adjustment, (Istanbul: July, 6-9 1987), See also: The World Bank, Turkey, Country Economic Memorandum Towards Sustainable Growth, Report No: 7378-TU, Washington, DC:1988.

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- The highly restrictive import restrictions, characterized by tariffs, quotas, licensing, and advance deposit requirements, were relaxed significantly. Importers were given the right to import materials and intermediate products duty free under the foreign exchange allocation scheme. Quantitative restrictions were removed and many tariffs and deposit requirements were lowered.
- The government sought direct foreign capital investment to help overcoming deficits in the balance of payments, reduce unemployment, and promote the transfer of technology. Bureaucratic formalities were greatly simplified through the reorganization of the Foreign Investment Directorate of the State Planning Organization as a single authority for all foreign investments except oil exploration. The procedures for obtaining investment certificate, registering a company, and getting an operation permit were also greatly simplified.

Major Free Market Policies Implemented in the Post-1980 Era

The Motherland Party that came power after gaining victory in the November 6, 1983 General Election, announced that the government would take necessary steps to reduce the size and the functions of the public sector and increase private sector activities in the national economy. Their program portrayed the economic role of the government as follows:[19]

> The government principally should not be involved with industrial establishments, however establishments and facilities in the backward regions should be transferred to the public.

The Fifth and Sixth Five Year Development Plans, prepared by the Motherland Party required that government interference in the economy should be minimized. The Sixth Five Year Development Plan covering the period of 1990-1994 declared that:

> [T]o achieve the economic growth within the framework of free competition and to benefit from the dynamism of the private sector in a maximum manner, are the basic features of the plan. In

[19] Anavatan Partisi, Anavatan Partisi Programi, (Ankara: 1983), 21.

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addition, the government should lead the economic activities and encourage them.[20]

Analysis of Turkish Economic Evolution

A. Privatization Policy

Privatization, in the sense of the transfer of certain roles and functions of government to the private sector, has taken place since 1980 in respect not only of deregulation, contracting out and joint venture enterprises, but also in the sale of public enterprises' assets or shares to private individuals and firms. Deregulatory measures were taken in order to create an environment for competition, and several statutory monopolies were ended, such as the Tea and Tobacco Monopoly and the Electricity Power Monopoly. Under Law No.3096 individuals and private firms were permitted to purchase tea from the producers directly and to establish their own tea packing factories. Similarly Law No.3096 terminated government monopoly on the production, transmission and distribution of electricity. Both domestic and foreign firms were allowed to enter to the market. However, Article 9 of this law still required that the price of electricity would be subject to approval by the Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources.

In 1984, Law No. 3035 changed previously enacted Law No.625 Concerning Private Education Institutions, and made it easier for private day care centers, vocational schools, and private schools to open in development priority areas by exempting them from personal and corporate income taxes for five years.

User charges were imposed on various free services previously supplied by government. These included higher education fees at universities and public hospitals, and the reduction in benefits to government employees, such as nominal charges for medicines that were previously supplied free.

Some government services were contracted out. Thus, Law No. 3030 (Law Concerning Metropolitan Municipalities) authorized municipalities to contract with the private firms for such services as construction and maintenance of boulevards, squares, avenues, highways, passenger and cargo terminals, parking lots, green areas, parks and recreation facilities

[20] State Planning Organization, Sixth Five Year Development Plan, 1990-1994, (Ankara: Basbakanlik Basimevi, 1985), 1.

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etc.

Joint ventures, in which the public sector invests along with private firms, became common, and the greater efficiency of the private sector has made joint venture arrangement successful in various fields.

Beginning in 1980, almost all price controls on various commodity prices were removed following the abolition of the Price Control Committee. The government sharply adjusted the prices of basic commodities and services produced by public enterprises, and the number of basic commodities subject to price controls was reduced drastically. Public enterprises producing non-basic commodities were instructed to set their prices on commercial principles.[21]

The sale of the assets of public enterprises, or the sale of shares in these, constituted another aspect of the privatization policy. The master plan for this project was prepared by the Morgan Guaranty Trust Company of New York in 1985, in cooperation with several Turkish banks, which resulted in Law No. 3291 (Law Concerning the Privatization of Public Enterprises) was enacted in 1986. This led to the privatization of a number of government projects.

B. Deregulation of Banking

Until July 1980, bank deposit interest rates, and to a large extent, lending rates were determined by the Central Bank. During the 1970's, only modest interest rates were permitted so that with the acceleration of inflation rates, interests rates became increasingly negative in real terms. But during the 1980's, banking and other financial services were largely deregulated. In July 1980, interest rates paid for time deposit and bank loans were totally freed. Although initially a "gentlemen's agreement" enforced by the cartel of commercial banks limited the extend of the increases, interest rates subsequently rose considerably on both deposits and loans as the pressure of competition rendered the agreement largely ineffective. Decree 8/909 which became effective as of July 1, 1980 was the first step toward full deregulation of financial services. Following these measures, in October 30, 1986 interest rates paid for demand deposits

[21] Ali Tigrel, "Transition to a Market Economy: The Case of Turkey", in Report of the International Symposium on Turkey's Experience in Developing A Market Economy and Eastern Europe, Organized by State Planning Organization, (Ankara: 1991), 144.

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were also freed.[22]

Simultaneously between 1983 and 1985, the liquidity and reserve requirement system was simplified and made more effective; legally required ratios were unified and lowered, the time period permitted for compliance was shortened, and interests payment on reserves were abolished. Preferential credit allocations were reduced and major banking reform legislation was completed in April 1985 to provide for charges in capital requirements, contingency reserves, accounting and reporting standards, deposit insurance, branch banking, and ownership and management requirements. A number of institutional measures were also taken to develop capital markets.

The government legalized off-shore banking services in December 1989, for both foreign and Turkish firms. According to the legislation, off-shore banking institutions were granted the right to extend loans and other financial services without being subject to Turkish laws and limitations. However, they were not allowed to obtain funds to finance loans inside the country. Funds obtained from financial institutions abroad were not subject to insurance expenses.

C. Foreign Exchange Policy

Following the January 24 measures, new policies have been put into effect in order to initiate and foster free market economy in the following years. One of the most important reform was the termination of Decree 17, "Concerning Protection of the Value of Turkish Currency."

For many years, the Decree 17 served as Turkey's foreign exchange regime, while actual practice was guided by other decrees and communiques based on Decree 17. This Decree was terminated when a new decree (Decree No.30) was put into effect on July 7, 1984. The new foreign exchange regime set forth in Decree 30 on Protection of the Value of Turkish Currency took more liberal approach. The highlights of this decree are as follows:[23]

- Importation of Turkish currency and of instruments enabling payments in Turkish Lira into the country is not subject to any

[22] See: Coskun Can Aktan, Bankacilikta Yasal-Kurumsal Serbestlesme (Deregulation), Banka ve Ekonomik Yorumlar Dergisi, (Subat-1987), 41-47.

[23] YASED, Foreign Exchange Policy in Turkey, (Istanbul: 1985), 156-167.

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restriction but their exportation is subject to the permission of the government (Article 3).
- Importation of foreign exchange into Turkey is unrestricted and it may not be made subject to any restriction nor may its origin be investigated. Persons in Turkey are free to carry foreign exchange with them. Such persons may, if they so desire, hold the said foreign exchange in bank accounts. Acceptance of foreign exchange by persons domiciled in Turkey from persons domiciled abroad in return for transactions they will conclude in Turkey is unrestricted. Person domiciled in Turkey may take out with them US $ 3000 or its equivalent in other foreign currencies when they go abroad. Taking out foreign exchange above this amount is possible only if it was authenticated that the foreign exchange has been issued by banks. Persons domiciled abroad, may freely take abroad foreign exchange in amounts exceeding US $ 3000 or its equivalent provided that it was declared on their arrival (Article 4).
- The value of foreign currencies and gold against Turkish currency are determined within the framework of the procedures established by the Central Bank which consider developments in international markets and the country's economy. Purchases and sales of foreign exchange are concluded based on the rates of exchange in force on the day of transaction. At the time of drawing up documents relating to purchases and sales of foreign exchange for offsets, the rates of exchange in force on the date of the transaction are applied (Article 5).

In sum, Decree 30 and the related communiques liberalized the foreign exchange regime significantly. One of the most important goals of this decree was to realize a flexible exchange rate system.

D. Foreign Trade Policy

In the post-1980 period, trade liberalization has been one of the fundamental objectives of the market economy, which has been implemented by Turkey. In the pre-1980 period, import substitution has been adopted to protect domestic "infant industries" against outside competition. Until 1980, all foreign trade policy instruments such as quantitative restrictions, tariffs, etc. were used to promote import substitution.

In the post-1980 era, Turkey's structural adjustment program emphasized the liberalization of foreign trade regime. Both import

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and export regimes have undergone a substantial transformation during the 1980's. The import regime established by the 29 December 1983 constitutes a major step towards liberalizing foreign trade and eliminating red tape for imports. Prior to 1983, the import regime was determined by a decree drafted each year, and the regime was generally valid for only one year. Under the new, more liberal arrangement, this annual decree has been eliminated and the import regime set forth at the end of 1983 has been made permanent. Under it, import items are divided into three main groups in the new import regime:

- Items importation of which is prohibited,
- Items importation of which is subject to permission,
- Items importation of which is unrestricted,

Items, whose importation is prohibited include all live animals, vegetables and foodstuffs that are produced in Turkey; certain varieties of thread and textiles, porcelain, ceramic and glass kitchen, tableware, precious stones and minerals. In addition these, the importation of certain items of artistic value such as handmade paintings and sculptures has also been banned.

The list of goods which is subject to permission includes a rather large number of items among which are various intermediate goods and raw materials. A few examples of such items are sheets and wires of iron and steel, various products made of aluminum and lead, various intermediate goods used in the electronics and automotive industries, and various products of the chemical industry.

Apart from these, there is also a list of items, which can be imported by paying into a fund. In the case of imports of this kind, which generally include luxury consumer goods in addition to the customs duties, a certain type of tax is collected and placed in a fund created to contribute to the development of the public housing sector.

Apart from items importation of which is either prohibited, subject to permission or possible by paying into a fund, all other goods may be imported without restriction, and this group constitutes the largest category of import goods.[24]

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[24] Ibid., 82.

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In the post-1980 period, the most important accomplishment on the import side has been the virtual replacement of quantitative restrictions by tariffs. The number of items subject to import licenses fell from 821 in 1983 to 111 in 1987, and was further reduced to 16 in 1989. The number of items subject to import prohibition were 224 in 1984 and reduced to 4 in 1986.

On the other hand, some impressive changes have taken place on the export side. During the 1980's, generous incentives were given to exporters. Exporters enjoyed tax rebates and had access to preferential credit through the Central Bank. Moreover, exporters were allowed to import raw materials and semi-finished products without paying customs duties. As a result of these incentives, export volume increased substantially.

Between 1984 and 1986, the government attempted to reduce exporters' reliance on direct incentives (mainly tax rebates, preferential credit and access to duty free imports within foreign exchange allocations) while placing greater emphasis on real exchange rate depreciation to promote exports. In particular, the provision of preferential credit was abolished in 1985.

E. Tax Reform

In the early 1980's, the government initiated a comprehensive tax reform package as part of the structural adjustment program. In 1981, personal income tax brackets were raised sharply to compensate for inflation while marginal tax rates were restructured to provide for gradual reduction of all rates over a four-year period.Average and marginal personal income tax rates were reduced gradually. The marginal tax rate, which was 40 percent in 1981 was reduced to 25 percent in 1989.

Another important reform was the introduction of a 10 percent Value Added Tax in January 1985. The VAT replaced various production taxes and other duties.[25]

F. Foreign Investment Policy

One of the most important policy decisions in 1980 was the

[25] See: World Bank, Fiscal Policy and Tax Reform in Turkey, (Two Volumes), Report No. 6374-TU, Washington DC: 1987.

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adaptation of open and flexible foreign investment policies. On March 13, 1986, a new decree (Foreign Capital Framework Decree) was put into effect as a supplement to the Law Concerning the Encouragement of Foreign Capital (Law No. 6224), which was enacted on January 18, 1954. This permitted the investment of foreign capital in commercial activities, to participate in partnerships, to purchase shares, to open branch offices and to establish liaison offices, provided such activities were deemed as beneficial to the economic development of the country and were in areas that were open to the Turkish private sector so long as these did not entail a monopoly or special privilege. The Foreign Investment Directorate of the State Planning Organization (SPO) was empowered to issue permits and provide incentives to investment projects with foreign participation up to US $ 50 million. For investment and participation exceeding this amount the approval of the Council of Ministers was required.

Incentives, which vary according to location, cost and type of project, are as follows:

- 100 percent of the customs duties are exempted for all machinery and equipment needed for an investment,
- Between 30 percent and 100 percent of the total fixed investment (excluding land and some expenditures) is exempted from Corporation Tax, depending upon the location, the cost and the type of investment.
- A cash grant, called Resource Allocation Support Premium is paid by the Central Bank of Turkey from the Resource Allocation Support Fund to investors on the basis of their investments of equity. The rate changes from 15 percent to 60 percent (total amount of premium payments can not exceed 33 percent of fixed investment value) according to the location and type of investment.
- A sum equal to 25 percent of the value of locally manufactured machinery and equipment may be paid to the investor as an incentive premium provided that the import content is less than 50 percent.
- Exemption from taxes, duties and charges on credits provided that up to 20 percent of the rate of the production is committed for exportation for five consecutive years after full capacity is reached. Long-term domestic investment credits, working capital credits and foreign credit taxes, duties and charges are exempted from the

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Building and Construction Tax and Value Added Tax on Import Capital Goods.

As a result of these generous incentives, the amount of foreign capital entering Turkey increased substantially, and the number of foreign companies also increased. This played a significant role in the achievement of a positive balance of payments. Foreign capital investment also brought new and advanced technology into the country, creating employment and increasing the national income.

1.7. Free Trade Zones Policy

The Free trade zone was another of the policies adopted in the post-1980 era. A Free Trade Zones Law was enacted in 1985, the objectives of which were defined in the first article as follows:

> The law encompasses the matters related to the establishment of free trade zones; the determination of the location and boundaries; their management; the scope of their activities; their operation; and the establishment of the installations and facilities within the zone with the objective of increasing export oriented investment and production in Turkey; accelerating the entry of foreign capital and technology; procuring the inputs of the economy in an economic and orderly fashion and increasing the utilization of external finance and trade possibilities.[26]

The Council of Ministers was empowered within the authority to determine the location and the boundaries of the free trade zones. According to the law, the Council of Ministers granted permission for the establishment and operation of free trade zones to public institutions and agencies, resident or non-resident real persons, and legal entities. Important restrictions were as follows:

- Trade conducted between the free trade zones and other part of Turkey is subject to the foreign trade regime,
- All payments related to the free trade zone activities are made in the form of foreign exchange,

[26] State Planning Organization, The Turkish Free Zones, (Ankara: 1985).

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Currently, free trade zones exist within the provincial borders of Mersin, Antalya, Adana and Izmir.

Summary

In the economic history of modern Turkey, étatism dominated public policy from the beginning of the proclamation of the Republic in 1923 until the end of the 1970's. The founder of the Republic, Ataturk, himself described étatism as "a system peculiar to Turkey, which has evolved from the principle of the private activity of the individual, but places on the state responsibility for the national economy."

In the Turkish context, étatism was seen as an appropriate policy because private enterprises and capital accumulation were too weak to initiate and foster economic development. Turkey started to implement étatist policies in the early 1930's, when many public enterprises were established in various fields. Until the end of the 1970's, import substitution was adopted to protect domestic "infant industries" against outside competition. A wide variety of protectionist measures, such as tariffs, quantitative restrictions, etc., were used to promote import substitution in the period of 1923 to 1980.

Turkey moved to an outward-oriented free market policy at the beginning of 1980. On January 24, 1980, Turkey adopted the Stabilization and Structural Adjustment Program, and began to implement liberal economic policies (privatization, deregulation, free foreign exchange, free trade, free trade zones, tax reduction, etc.) to strengthen its free market economy.

Currently the future is in question, and this paper only explores the free market policies implemented in the post-1980 era. No attempt has been made to measure the macroeconomic performance of Turkey under the free market policies; nor does it make a comparison between the étatist policies implemented in the pre-1980 period and the free market policies implemented since 1980, or attempt to forecast future developements under the current or future governing parties.

The author wishes to thank Lytton Stoddard and Arif Ersoy for their valuable comments.

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BOOK REVIEW ARTICLE

Presidents Kennedy and Clinton: Case Studies in Society's Condonation of "Twilight" Behavior

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The U.S. public appears to be indifferent to the personal behavior of its political leaders. The books that lay the foundation for this article relate to the behavioral deviancy, mainly sexual, of two American presidents, John F. Kennedy and William Jefferson Clinton. They would seem an odd choice for review in a scholarly journal were it not that important issues of sociology and intellectual history are highlighted by the deviancy. We will discuss the books themselves first and will follow that discussion with an analysis of those larger issues.

All Too Human:
The Love Story of Jack and Jackie Kennedy
Edward Klein
Pocket Books, New York, 1996
Hardbound, 406 pages, $23
ISBN 0-671-50187-9

The revelations in *All Too Human* are of behavior so perverse that an evaluation of the book's credibility becomes a threshold issue in any discussion of it. (Oddly, and probably revealingly, the reviews in such major media outlets as *Time* and *Newsweek* place no stress on this. They mostly treat the reported behavior as consistent with known facts about the Kennedys.)[1]

The reasons to give it credence are persuasive:

The author, Edward Klein, is a journalist at the peak of his profession; a winner of the Pulitzer Prize, he was for eleven years the editor of *The New York Times Magazine*.

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[1] See the review by Ginia Bellafante in *Time*, issue of June 17, 1996; and the reviews in *Newsweek* on July 29, 1996, and August 19, 1996.

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. The book is issued by a major publisher. This presumably, though not conclusively, certifies to a higher standard of journalism than one would expect from outlets known for their "yellow journalism."

. Klein's book is the product of painstaking work, based on interviews with 325 people close to the Kennedys. He was personally acquainted with Jackie Kennedy.

. Perhaps most importantly, his bias is pro-Kennedy and "liberal." This appears in various ways throughout the book, such as on page 215 when Klein attempts a rather obtuse justification for some especially callous behavior on President Kennedy's part. The book's title, *All Too Human*, is itself a rationalization for behavior that many millions of people would loath to see characterized as typical of "the human."

Counterpoised against all of this, of course, is the fact that "there is money to be made in" such an expose, and the additional fact that experience has shown that the prevailing American media, even at the top, deserve far less than respectful obeisance. It is necessary to ask, too, whether some of the revelations strain credulity, since they are of behavior just too personal and too outlandish to be easily believable.

These might balance out were it not for the fact that so many independent sources corroborate just the sort of behavior the book describes. *Newsweek*, for example, says that "as for Jack, his monomaniacal skirt-chasing has been well documented." If so, that documentation consists precisely of accounts similar to those contained in *All Too Human*.

If we resolve the issue of credibility roughly, at least, in favor of believing the reports, we come next to the question of what, specifically, that behavior was. And here we confront the horns of a dilemma. If we don't spell out the details, the reader won't have freshly in mind the particulars that will be needed for our later discussion of their significance. If we do recount them, we turn the *Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies* into nothing less than an academic version of Larry Flynt's *Hustler*. What is fitting for *Hustler*, surely one of the world's sleaziest magazines, just isn't appropriate to these pages.

We have resolved that dilemma in favor of editorial predilections toward decency, which means that the description we make of the

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revelations contained in *All Too Human* will have to be at the lowest possible level of prurience. How to do that? Suffice it to say in general terms that, regarding John F. Kennedy, Klein writes about group sex, public sex, sex on the run, sex in hallowed places, sex in a house of prostitution, mob connections, venereal disease and gross sexual infidelity toward his wife, Jackie, even while she was recovering from the birth of a dead baby. He claims that Jack's father, Joseph P. Kennedy, possessed an unquenchable sexual fire along much the same lines and had made the family's fortune through stock manipulation and mob-connected bootlegging – all as prelude to appointment as the first Chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission and then as the United States ambassador to Great Britain. Joseph was prominently mentioned, we are told, as a possible Democratic presidential candidate in 1940 if Franklin Delano Roosevelt chose not to run for a third term. Klein's revelations about Jackie indicate that she was by no means an innocent seduced into a satyr's world.

Although we are not providing the specifics by this general description, Klein's book recounts them in detail.

Beyond the particulars themselves, what is most noteworthy is that Klein asserts that this behavior had a rationale. It lay in a contemptuous repudiation of "bourgeois" norms. Klein says of women like Jackie that "they did not look for a lovey-dovey bourgeois relationship in which their husband would sit by their bed, hold their hand...."[2] Elsewhere: "Jackie was envious of [her sister] Lee's ability to thumb her nose at bourgeois convention...."[3]

Unlimited Access: An FBI Agent Inside the Clinton White House
Gary Aldrich
Regnery Publishing, Inc., Washington, D.C., 1996
Hardbound, 222 pages, $24.95

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[2] Klein, *All Too Human*, p. 209.

[3] Klein, *All Too Human*, p. 218.

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Primary Colors: A Novel of Politics
Anonymous [revealed eventually to be Joe Klein]
Random House, New York, 1996
Hardbound, 367 pages, $24

Our attention shifts now to two books relating to a more recent president – William Jefferson Clinton –, who as a young man was an admirer of John F. Kennedy and whose life has so greatly paralleled his.

As part of the defense of Clinton against the revelations made by Aldrich's book, it has been customary to deprecate the author as though his observations are of little credibility. Yet he was perhaps the person best situated to observe first-hand the events within the Clinton White House up to the time of his retirement in June 1995. And he was the observer who, by credentials and experience, would seem the most impartial regarding those events. Aldrich served for thirty years as a special agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). He was one of the two FBI agents stationed permanently within the White House during the final two years of President George Bush's term and during more than two years of President Clinton's first term. It is the primary job of the FBI agents within the White House to do background investigation for security clearances for White House and other executive branch employees.

Some of what Aldrich reports is therefore based on his direct observation, and much on talks he had with "well placed sources," who were abundant around him. It was Craig Livingstone, the White House "director of security," for example, who told Aldrich of an affair between Hillary Clinton and Vincent Foster. And it was a "well placed White House source" who told Aldrich that Bill Clinton disappeared from the White House at night for hours at a time; this is supplemented by word from "an experienced investigator" who told Aldrich that at those times the president would go to the Marriott Hotel in downtown Washington, clandestinely entering through the basement parking garage. The reader will want to peruse *Unlimited Access* personally to assess the credence he is prepared to give to these reports. Credibility is enhanced by the fact that they are consistent with similar reports relating to Clinton's time as governor of Arkansas from several purported participants – such people as Gennifer Flowers, Paula Jones and certain state troopers.

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A point of emphasis in Aldrich's book, naturally enough in light of his own White House FBI work, is how the Clinton assemblage harbored a deep contempt for the security-clearance process, and were willing to play fast and loose with top-secret government information. Among much evidence of this is the fact that the White House Counsel's office held up 42 clearance forms for seven months while the staff members involved continued to have access to top-secret documents. Fourteen months after Clinton was inaugurated, hundreds of staff members still didn't have passes. This all stemmed directly from the president and first lady, who we are told spoke of Secret Service agents as "trained pigs."

But for our purposes what is most interesting is the counter-cultural tone of the Clintons and their assemblage, which included a sexuality in the Kennedy tradition (though stemming from origins in the counter-culture of the 1960s rather than from the spoiledness of the uncultured rich). For the preparation of the White House Christmas tree in 1993, a call was put out to art students around the country to submit decorations. Aldrich was among the staff members invited to help place the decorations on the tree. After it was decorated with such "ornaments" as male figurines with erect penises and drug paraphernalia, Hillary's social secretary declared the tree "perfect." Employees of the GSA Supervising Carpenter reported two male staff members having sex with each other on a White House desk; and a woman staff member reported seeing two women having sex in a White House shower stall. A cleaning lady complained that staffers threw garbage and trash on the floor.

None of this, according to Aldrich, was out of keeping with the tone set by Bill and Hillary Clinton themselves. Contrary to Bill's affable and Hillary's polished public images, each indulged in continual obscenities. They screamed at each other on the day of the inauguration, and had frequent rages with each other and the staff.

"Primary Colors"

The Clintons' Kennedyesque sexual tone is perhaps best brought out by Joe Klein (not to be confused with the Ed Klein who wrote the Kennedy book) in the novel *Primary Colors*. Although presented as a piece of fiction, so that no direct credence should be given to any particular detail, it is thought by the major media to be an uncannily accurate "insider's account" of the 1992 Democratic primary election

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campaign. "Whoever did it had both real inside information and a dead-on eye," wrote *Newsweek* on January 29, 1996. The book made a sensation when released, the media finding itself speculating at length about who the author could possibly be. Joe Klein finally admitted to having written it.

It is significant that in the course of the cascade of speculation about authorship there was no suggestion that the book painted an inaccurate picture of the Clintons (portrayed through the fictional characters Jack and Susan Stanton) or their entourage. There was no outrage that "they have been slandered." Nothing speaks more eloquently for the book's essential accuracy than that omission by a great many people who were in a position to know.

We will not recount the story, which is a novel about the campaign. There are, however, salient features to note. One of these is that a central theme of the novel is "campaign sex." Equally important is the portrayal of Stanton's personality. It is that of a master at projecting warmth and sincerity. Stanton captivated people with a caring gaze and a touch on the arm. It is more than a little coincidence that *All Too Human* tells us, about Jack Kennedy, that "he developed a unique style of expression that created a sense of emotional intimacy between himself and his audience. Women adored him." This is precisely the picture we receive of the fictional Jack Stanton – and the picture we have of President William Jefferson Clinton.

Issues of Sociology and Intellectual History

"Twilight Behavior": A Major Activity Needing Study and Comprehension

The first issue suggested by the books is important to sociology. It has to do with the existence of a vast area of life, crucially important in the actual conduct of human affairs, that scarcely receives academic attention. This is the *sub rosa* area, the twilight zone between the poles of legality and illegality, the ethical and the unethical, the outwardly known and the half-hidden. We will make four points about it:

(a) that activity within this twilight zone – which we will call "the third realm," as a matter separate from the two poles – comprises a major portion of real human behavior, despite the lack of formal

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attention given to it;

(b) that so vast an area of activity should be the subject of serious observation and analysis and is a possible new frontier for the social sciences;

(c) that to discuss it does not imply condoning all, or even much, that occurs within it, even though a blanket condemnation is not itself justifiable; and

(d) that a full and open consciousness of twilight behavior would add considerably to the maturity of our understanding of life, which currently is often childishly simplistic.

First, to speak to its incidence:

Not long ago, I wrote a Legal Studies monograph giving a history and analysis of lynching.[4] The final third of that essay dealt with the nature of justice and the relationship of both lynching and established legal institutions to it. I made no defense, of course, of lynching, which is an enormity; but I did see considerable ambiguity between "law" and "the extra-legal" so far as their service to justice is concerned. We are accustomed to thinking in sharp categories, whereas in fact most things come in a continuum or, perhaps more accurately, in a roughhewn web. Lynching, as detestable as it is, could approximate justice, sometimes doing so better than established legal institutions could; law, on the other hand, as laudable as it is in the ideal, often falls far short of justice. The balance, we hope and confidently assert, favors law. But the issue is clouded rather than clear-cut.

In law, we think of the polarity of "legal" and "illegal"; in ethics, of "ethical" and "unethical." There is, however, the enormous third category made up of the twilight zone between each pole. The world is fascinated by it, but scholarship largely ignores it, probably because this third realm lies outside the customary mental categories. As with lynching (which is execution not through the forms of law but with community condonation), there are no rules for it. A sociologist, a psychologist, an anthropologist and others might study it and even ascribe laws to it, but this would need to be after much empirical observation to see what it really is and does. What separates this

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[4] Under the title *The History of Lynching: A Legal Studies Monograph*, the essay is No. 24 in the *Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies Monograph Series*. It is available through this journal for $12 plus $2.50 postage.

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realm definitionally from what is clearly "illegal" or "unethical" is that the behavior is either condoned by an effective plurality or there is no effective enforcement seeing to compliance with recognized norms.

In almost all areas of life, there is this realm of the "practical realist." This is the realm of the driver who does not quite obey the speed laws, but also does not go so fast as to be stopped by a policeman; or who, if he is stopped, has set upon a way to "beat the ticket." This is the driver who never stops at an intersection if there is just enough yellow to justify his entering before the light turns red. It is the realm of the high academic officer I talked with the other day who says she never pays a parking ticket she receives in another state, since there is no way for the state to enforce it. In short, it marks the existence of every person who "knows" that there is more to life than playing by the rules and staying within the defined channels, who knows that to bend the rules is often efficacious and even "necessary," and who has a profound sense of just how "foolish" it is either to live a life of "naive conformity" to norms or to flout them so much as to "get into trouble."

There are a great many cultural determinants for just how far "off limits" people are willing to go, and for how much twilight behavior they are willing to condone in others. So the deviancy is a variable, changing with the likes of culture, ideology and religion. But it should be evident that such activity is common coinage within almost all sorts of settings and institutions. Nothing becomes clearer to someone who has engaged actively in the world than that little is quite what it holds itself out to be. This means that, for this as well as other reasons, humanity operates in part through illusions; human activity is like a faulty television transmission: a double image, one the intended one, the other its displaced shadow.

This is a favorite subject in fiction and drama, which loves to play on its ambiguities without seriously attempting to sort them out. Sometimes the "efficacious man" is presented in a favorable light, such as in a free-wheeling action adventure by Ian Fleming or Tom Clancy. At other times, norms are set up righteously to condemn precisely the same sort of man, such as in the film *A Few Good Men* where Jack Nicholson plays a Marine colonel who is disgraced for ordering extralegal (and, in the event, fatal) discipline. There is relatively little reflection about why in some cases the behavior is nodded at approvingly and in others scorned with censure.

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This "third realm" is so vast that it is not particularly exceptional that the three books under review here, which illustrate it, have to do with presidents. Presidents Kennedy and Clinton make spectacular examples because of the elevated nature of their office, but in one dimension they can be seen as mere examples. The corpus of life as lived by the millions is much larger than they are.

This brings us to the second point. Since this third realm is an important dimension of human life, it should, in my opinion, be a major field for observation and study in its own right. Departments in the humanities and social sciences would do well to put it under a microscope. Law schools would serve their students and the intellectual world by inquiring into not just the law and violations of it, as though those were the only two alternatives, but also about how people and institutions actually behave, making up the *de facto* norms by which a people live. For that to occur, it must be made less invisible, more a matter of acknowledged existence. Students would gain a preparation for the legal world as they will confront it in fact, and could actually reflect in a detached and professional manner about how they will wish to relate to it and perhaps change it.

We do not mean by this to suggest anything quite akin to what has been known as "legal realism," "sociological jurisprudence," or "moral relativism." In America, those have largely reflected the desire of lead the assault on "bourgeois" society to undercut the ideal of law as law; i.e., what in the present context I would perhaps call "the first realm." It should be possible to study off-the-record behavior and come to terms with it without marrying the study to ideological goals.

Third, there is the question of evaluation. Our relationship to "practical realism" is essentially unresolved. Often it amounts to condonation, sometimes to hearty approval (as when black crowds cheered the acquittal of O. J. Simpson), and at other times to condemnation, either genuine or hypocritical. When we see that John F. Kennedy is remembered with reverence and that William Jefferson Clinton was able to win not just one but two terms in the White House, we are reminded of how much the world (or, maybe, sometimes just important parts of it) winks at "off the record" behavior – and of just how remarkably extensive that behavior is.

But the fact that public reaction to the twilight behavior is mixed should not obscure the fact that norms are vital as one of the cements that hold civilization together.

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The entire twilight world exists on the premise, evidently held by a great many people in countless circumstances, that "the end *does* in fact often justify the means." Despite the violence done to theories of law and ethics for us to say so, we can see that sometimes ends *do* justify otherwise unacceptable means, where something of value is gained by a disproportionately less damaging deviation. An example would be a real-life scenario where it becomes necessary to use torture in interrogation to gain information needed to save a million lives. On a less dramatic scale, people often find a "white lie" (i.e., a lie about some inconsequential thing) worthwhile, since it smoothes relationships while being uttered without either the intent or the actuality of injury.

But most of the time the twilight behavior can claim no such justification; the imperative that drives it is simple expediency, unmoved by any punctilio over the observance of norms. The actors could stay within the norms if they chose to, but it is more convenient not to. Here, there is real conflict between law and ethics, on the one hand, and the "practical realist's" behavior, on the other.

To minimize that flouting, it is necessary for a culture to maintain strong determinants of lawful and ethical consensus. Nothing could be clearer from the books we have reviewed than that those determinants have become weak in twentieth century America, where a thousand signs inform us that moral decadence has become a major fact of life.

Fourth, there is the matter of maturation. Right now, we are childishly inconsistent and non-reflective about twilight behavior. It would make us more mature and self-aware if we acknowledged and talked about that realm's existence. We could come to realize why we condone what we do, if that seems justifiable; and we might move ourselves toward condemning that which is not. In any case, we might lessen our naivete, our confusion, and our double standards.

Some Additional Light Shed Upon America's Alienated Subculture

In the mid-1980s I authored a history of "modern liberal" thought.[5] I traced several steps leading, among other things, to

[5] Although it was originally published under a different title by the University Press of America, the most recently published version of this book is my *Liberalism in Contemporary America* (McLean, VA: Council for Social and Economic Studies, 1992).

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moral relativism:

> . how, beginning early in the nineteenth century, the American intelligentsia became alienated against the main society;
>
> . how it consolidated its ideology by studying under the German Historical School in the late nineteenth century;
>
> . how the "modern liberal" ideology and political program have largely reflected an "alliance" of the intellectual subculture with a variety of disaffected or unassimilated groups in American society; and
>
> . how that alliance, together with the intelligentsia's alienation from the commercial middle class, led naturally to its adopting a morally and culturally relativistic worldview.

A principal value of moral and cultural relativism to the Left, especially during the heyday of the counter-culture, has been that it undercuts the values embraced by the main culture. These are said to be "artificial structurings" and "no better than any other social choices." In addition, moral relativism provides the rationale for an empathetic, therapeutic view of the behavior and ways of life of those who are less successful or outside the mainstream. This is essential if the ideological and political relationship is to be one of appealing (the liberal-Left's opponents would say "pandering") to those people.

What did not come to mind in the course of that discussion was the extent to which this moral relativism has led American "liberalism," the liberal media, and the Democratic Party to condone, when convenient, quite a lot of egregiously bad behavior (as judged by the norms of the mainstream culture).

This includes not only sexual deviance, but also condonation of criminality. The latter is illustrated by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's appointing Joseph P. Kennedy as the first head of the Securities Exchange Commission just a short time after Kennedy made his fortune in stock manipulation and mob-connected bootlegging, and by President John F. Kennedy's continued contact with the man, Sam Giancana, who was the United States' leading mob leader after the death of Al Capone. As author Edward Klein points out, Giancana credited himself with having gotten John F. Kennedy elected.

It is valuable to understand that the behavior of the Kennedys

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and Clintons reflects a long-term disposition on the part of certain major ideological and political forces in the United States. Instead of seeing their behavior in isolation, we see it as a measure of what "modern liberalism" is willing to accept – even among its favorites as they occupy the highest office of the land. Three characteristics go to its essence but that have scarcely been noticed:

First, that the intellectual, political and media elite at its helm stands quite apart from the mainstream society, in effect mocking it with arrogance and disdain. (What could be more clear as an inference from John F. Kennedy's drug use and sex and promiscuous on-the-run sex during his presidential campaign? Here was a man, supported by the milieu that surrounded him, whose "reality" was totally different from the image he would convey, and who showed that inwardly he held in contempt the way of life of the millions whom he was inducing to buy into that image.)

Second, that with such a division between an inward reality-of-contempt and an outward appeal-to-the-masses, the "democracy" espoused by many who have been politically successful in America is seen by them to be a "suckers' game." There is no respect for the millions, or intention really to give effect to their mandates (certainly not in the moral area). The millions have been there, and continue to be there, just to be used. In this regard, a cynic might observe that the electorate in "the world's oldest and largest democracy" was treated much like the women whom author Edward Klein tells us John F. Kennedy would use and then lose interest in.

Third, it is confirmed once again, as it has been from innumerable sources, that the intellectual-ideological elite that has so ubiquitously set the tone of twentieth century American civilization in literature, film, the arts, and politics has, again as judged by the norms that have long been associated with mainstream American society, been "depraved" almost to the point of pathology. This has been no ordinary elite, certainly not a high-minded one. If we wish to understand, say, the language, sexuality and brutality of post-1960s American films, we need look nowhere else. It tells us that the Berkeley "Free Speech Movement" (on behalf of obscenity) or the scandals over National Endowment for the Arts grants are not exceptions. The point is that this power elite is, and long has been, aberrant.

Such observations are "judgmental nonsense," of course, to those

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who consider behavioral norms, especially with regard to sex, unjustifiable corollaries of a despicable mainstream culture. That they are so considered by many within the subculture of alienation does not, however, invalidate them as measures of conduct for others who consider them imperative to civilization.

Conclusion

For many, a literature that tells of the deviancy of leaders in their "twilight" off-the-record lives will possess almost entirely a prurient interest. Our purpose in this discussion has been, however, to show that that deviancy has a much broader import. It tells us a great deal about the nature of the society in which we live and of major forces within it.

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DEBATE AND DISCUSSION

We here present a paper which defends the view that in mankind environmental forces overwhelm genetic factors in the determination of human behavioral potential. This was submitted in response to a paper published in an earlier issue of this Journal. It is accompanied by a response from the author of the earlier paper.

The Problem of Equality Revisited: A Response to Kevin Lamb

Paul Stretesky
Florida State University

In Volume 20, Issue 4 of this journal Kevin Lamb argues that biological differences matter. This, Lamb claims, is especially true when it comes to explaining racial inequality. Lamb's declaration is based on questionable empirical research and several false statements. What follows is a response to Lamb's essay entitled "The Problem of Equality."

Lamb states that those who believe in egalitarianism have "routinely disregarded the growing amount of empirical evidence to the contrary" (p.467). By this Lamb attempts to allege that racial inequality may simply be natural. He presents two empirical studies in support of this view: Herrnstein and Murray's work entitled *The Bell Curve;* and Nelson et al.'s study of male mice.

First I will address Lamb's comments regarding *The Bell Curve.* Lamb claims that the "typical response to *The Bell Curve is* nothing more than a barrage of ad hominem attacks" (p.470). This is not true (see Gould, 1981; Karmen, 1990; Montagu, 1975; and Vold and Bernard, 1986). Though many critiques of eugenic studies exist, Lamb should have been able to identify two major problems in *The Bell Curve.*

The first problem that Lamb should have identified is that Herrnstein and Murray draw conclusions that they cannot answer given their data. I assume Lamb read this book objectively to understand if the differences in I.Q. scores between blacks and whites are due to social inequality or biological differences. Lamb claims, for instance, that false ideology, not science, is responsible for the belief that social inequality has caused I.Q. score differences. The fact that Lamb eventually concludes, as do Herrnstein and Murray, that the I.Q. score differences between blacks and whites cannot be due to social inequality is astounding since we have never lived in a socially just society. Even Lamb admits that this racial inequality exists as he states that "forty years of desegregation and social engineering have failed to produce egalitarian results" (p.467). Lamb does

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give some sound advice when he advises us to practice Popper's theory of falsification. However, Lamb ignores his own advice when he asserts that social inequality is not responsible for I.Q. score differences. That assertion has never been socially tested. Even Lamb, then, must concede that his assertion is not a valid one. Furthermore, who is to say that if we did live in a socially just society that the I.Q. score of blacks would not be equal to, or even greater than, that of whites? The point I am making here is that we have no way of knowing that what Lamb says is true. Certainly this assertion cannot be drawn from Herrnstein and Murray's book.

Lamb also fails to recognize the statistical problems in Herrnstein and Murray's work. This is obvious because Lamb claims that the biological differences between blacks and whites actually explain a meaningful amount (he claims all) of the IQ difference between blacks and whites. This I.Q. score difference, in turn, explains many social problems in our society. Again this is simply not accurate and had Lamb examined the statistics used in *The Bell Curve* he would have discovered why this is the case. Herrnstein and Murray often use a statistical technique called multiple regression analysis in their work. Because Herrnstein and Murray violate the statistical assumptions of multiple regression, this alone should cast a heavy doubts on the validity of their conclusions. For example, their model is grossly mis-specified (see Berry, 1993). More important, however, is what they actually explain with their statistics. In Lamb's view Herrnstein and Murray obviously explain the lion's share of many social problems. However, a closer inspection of Herrnstein and Murray's work reveals that their goodness of fit statistic (R-square) often explains less than 10 percent of the variance of any given social problem. This means that more than 90 percent of each social problem that Herrnstein and Murray examine cannot be explained by I.Q. score differences. Now, that Lamb misses this point is odd since he seems to understand complex statistical techniques such as factor analysis.

Lamb also cites a study by Nelson et al. (1995) to support his view that biological differences between blacks and whites likely explain why blacks are more violent than whites. Apparently Lamb misunderstands that when the environment is a constant in an experiment, it cannot be responsible for any variation in behavior. This is precisely why the researchers placed all the mice in the same caged surroundings. The researchers did not show a "limited influence of the environment" in their study, rather, they showed that genetically altering mice can produce aggressiveness.

The fact that chemical deficiencies in the human brain can cause aggressiveness is generally not disputed (see Jeffrey, 1985). Still, there is some doubt about what may cause these chemical deficiencies in humans. For example, the environment may be more likely than genetics to play a role in the chemical variation in humans. This last point may best be explained by using physical height as a related example. 1, like Lamb, would agree one's physical height is a product of genetics. However, physical height is also a product of the environment. This means that the environment may influence the genetic

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potential of an organism (Jeffrey, 1985). For example, in the U. S., first generation children of Asian immigrants grow to be much taller than their parents (Stark, 1985: 103). Does this fact reflect a genetic difference? Of course not, because intra generational height difference is the direct result of different eating patterns in the United States (Stark, 1985:103). While I believe that genetics may explain some variation in human behavior, I do not believe that the genetic differences can explain the variation in behavior between blacks and whites--that variation is most likely the result of the environment. Other than the two empirical studies Lamb provided (which do nothing to support his point), I see no other empirical evidence for Lamb's assertions. If such evidence exists, it should have been presented in Lamb's essay.

Lamb makes several false statements concerning research on the topic of social inequality. For instance, he states that "social critics have failed to explain how society actually causes inequality" (p.472). This is not a true statement as an overwhelming amount of research exists that specifically addresses causal order issues (see Feagin, 1977; Pinkney, 1984; Steinberg, 1996; and Wilson, I 996). While it is beyond the scope of this response to reproduce social inequality research, I would point out that Feagin (1977) has explained, in great detail, the different ways that racism may operate. By this I mean that Feagin describes how social institutions support racial inequality. If Lamb disagrees with the causal arguments put forth by researchers such as Feagin, then he should address those arguments rather than ignore or dismiss that research all together. I believe that if Lamb reads some of the works I have cited, he would better understand the way that racism operates today.

Lamb also contends that "social critics who often consider inequality in terms of social or distributive justice refuse to clarity what racial equality fully entails" (p.471). This is also not true (see Pinkney, 1984). Racial equality simply means that life choices are distributed evenly across society and not distributed according to race. This has never become a reality in our society as whites have always had, and continue to have, more access to social opportunities than blacks. As long as this occurs racial inequality will exist. I challenge Lamb to provide evidence to the contrary. The fact that Affirmative Action has not changed the social and economic condition of blacks is not surprising as whites have not been disadvantaged by Affirmative Action. Affirmative Action has only served to eliminate the unfair advantage of whites in the employment market (that this goal has been accomplished is largely debatable). Contrary to what many Americans believe, Affirmative Action has not created more opportunities for blacks. Affirmative Action has served to ensure that a white is not hired over a black simply because of race. In this way, whites still have an advantage over blacks in employment because whites had, and continue to have, more opportunities than blacks (see Lynch and Patterson, 1996:1 -11). There is plenty of empirical evidence in support of this argument (see for example Carnoy, 1994; Ryan, 1982 and Grove, 1994). Finally, Lamb's views on race and crime are highly

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distorted. For instance Lamb states that:

> Whether its the bedlam that follows racially charged criminal trials or the fear of confronting a motorist in the wake of an accident, knowing that your next move may be your last, such events subsequently affect the decisions of those who seek out safe and stable communities for their families, especially for the social wellbeing of children. Common sense dictates that when a third of young black males are either in prison, on parole or under correctional supervision, there is something more that influences urban social pathologies than simply disparities in criminal sentencing, illegal drugs, or inadequate public housing. Lamb totally misses the mark with this statement because he fails to consider that violence encompasses more than street crime. Moreover, the greater proportion of violence in our society is carried out by white males, not black males. These white perpetrators are rarely arrested, let alone sent to prison for their acts. White males are responsible for a total of around 70,000 deaths per year (see Reiman, 1995:80). Of course, I am talking about crimes of the corporate elite. These corporate elites pose a far greater threat to health and safety than all street crimes combined (Reiman, 1995). Since blacks rarely occupy these corporate elite positions (again something Lamb admits) they are not responsible for such crimes.

In sum, I would make a general comment about Lamb's essay. Contrary to what Lamb would have us believe, it seems that most Americans share his view on race. For example, *The Bell Curve* was number two on The New York Times Best Seller List. Other works espousing similar ideology, such as Bloom's number-one best seller *Closing of the American Mind,* have also been well received by the public and academicians. While I understand that *The Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies is* a refereed journal, I also understand the power of racial ideology. Given this fact, I would be very surprised if this response is ever read by Lamb. I would be even more surprised if this response is published. Nevertheless, I believe a response to Lamb's essay is not only appropriate, but necessary.

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The Problem of Equality Revisited: A Rejoinder To Stretesky

Kevin Lamb
Washington, D.C.

In *The Problem of Equality*, the author examined the empirical validity of egalitarianism. The essay focused on the relationship between human diversity and socio-economic inequality and challenged two prevalent assumptions about human nature: the literal notion of human equality as a natural phenomenon and the irrelevancy of individual and racial differences as a factor of human inequality. In particular, it noted the following: social scientists frequently overlook biological factors when considering the causes of inequality, human equality as a natural phenomenon rests upon dubious assumptions, equality of status or achievement is an unreliable gauge of equal opportunity, deprivation and discrimination are inadequate explanations of socio-economic disparities, and 'society' is negligently accountable for the persistence of racial inequality. In response, Stretesky questions the empirical basis of these assertions and rejects the thesis of *The Problem of Equality*. The following essay probes the credibility of Stretesky's critique and establishes the scientific case for human differences (individual and group variation) as a causal factor of socio-economic inequality.

Several conventional claims about the underlying causes of racial and social inequality – assertions that are pervasive among contemporary social scientists – were critically evaluated in *The Problem of Equality*. I argued therein that the concept of 'equality', as it is used in contemporary intellectual discourse, renders a skewed understanding of human nature. In this regard, egalitarian social policies are founded upon a flawed premise that individual and group differences are *entirely* irrelevant as a cause of human inequality. Since egalitarianism more properly exemplifies social ideology rather than scientific reality, the literal notion that 'all men are created equal' remains empirically groundless. Its circular logic and rhetorical sophistry is discernible in the work of Kenneth Minogue, which effectively reveals the ideological nature of egalitarianism. Contrary to the widespread notion that socio-economic *disparities* are the result of oppressive societal 'structures', actual human differences *indirectly* account for much of this inequality.

The core of my initial essay consists of the following claims: (a)

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Social scientists routinely dismiss biological factors (genetic variation) as a source of human inequality. (b) Often this inequality is negligently attributed to adverse social conditions (discrimination and racism) caused by 'society'. (c) Distinctions between *equality of opportunity* and *equality of results* are too ambiguous for accurately evaluating the source of racial disparities and human inequality. (d) The concept of universal human equality, particularly the notion that ethnicity is insignificant and irrelevant in affecting human conduct, is based upon dubious assumptions.[1]

Stretesky rejects these claims and makes several critical counter points in reply. Such a critique deserves a closer look given the prevalence of Stretesky's assertions. The premises behind these contrasting notions of equality deserve further scrutiny if for no other reason than to clarify the empirical record on which these contrasting claims are grounded. The initial essay was never intended to be a comprehensive review of the scientific evidence, rather its scope was more philosophical and reflective than fact-finding. In essence, it should be viewed as a piece of social thought. One of the main points in the previous essay is that the widespread neglect of behavioral science research impedes any resolution of the latent causes of human inequality. As a reply to Stretesky and an extension of my initial thesis, this rejoinder brings into focus evidence from the behavioral sciences which strengthens the case that human differences matter when it comes to understanding the causes of inequality.

In his response, Stretesky argues that the previous essay was based upon "questionable empirical research" and "several false statements". Stretesky makes the following counter-arguments: (a) The source of black-white differences in IQ is *mostly* environmental; hence, genes play an insignificant role in producing these differences. (b) Herrnstein and Murray's use of multiple regression analysis yield statistical results that do not support their own conclusions as to the significance of IQ in explaining "any given social problem". (c) Environmental rather than genetic factors are responsible for racial differences in criminality and violent behavior. (d) Since "we have never lived in a socially just society," the underlying causes of racial differences stem from socio-economic inequality; hence 'society' via 'racism' and 'discrimination' *actually produces* inequality. (e) Affirmative action "has not created more

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[1] Lamb, Kevin "The Problem of Equality" *The Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies* Vol. 20, No. 4, Winter 1995, pp. 467-478.

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opportunities for blacks". (f) White males are responsible for a greater proportion of violence in society than black males. The remainder of this essay considers the validity of these assertions and establishes the credibility of the initial claims that Stretesky disputes.[2]

One important charge Stretesky makes is that racial (black-white) differences, as measured by IQ scores, are the result of environmental rather than genetic differences. Is this assertion valid? What is the evidence to date?

The views of the eminent psychologist Edward Lee Thorndike, as cited in the epigraph of the previous essay, conveyed that essay's overall theme.[3] Likewise, Thorndike's views on how nature and nurture affect human behavior typifies the leitmotif of this essay. Thorndike summarized the human experience in a slim but significant volume;

> The life of a man is a double series – a series of effects produced in him by the rest of the world, and a series of effects produced in that world by him. A man's make-up or nature equals his tendencies to be influenced in certain ways by the world and to react in certain ways to it.[4]

In the eighty years since Thorndike made this insightful observation, researchers have studied extensively human behavioral *differences* and their sources of variation.[5] By utilizing the research methods of twin, adoption and sibling studies, behavioral scientists have made significant progress in deciphering *how* nature and nurture affect human behavior.[6]

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[2] Stretesky, Paul "The Problem of Equality Revisited: a Response to Kevin Lamb" *The Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies* Vol. 22, No. 2, Summer 1997.

[3] Thorndike, Edward L. *Human Nature and the Social Order* The Macmillan Co., 1940, p.962.

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[5] Plomin, Robert, J. C. DeFries & G. E. McClearn *Behavioral Genetics* W. H. Freeman and Co., 2nd Edition, 1990. Plomin, Robert & Gerald E. McClearn (eds.) *Nature, Nurture & Psychology* American Psychological Association 1993. Rowe, David C. *The Limits of Family Influence: Genes, Experience, and Behavior* The Guilford Press 1994.

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The idea that both nature *and* nurture influence *differences* in human behavior is no longer in dispute, although the extent to which heredity and the environment contribute to racial differences in mental ability or any other human trait remains inconclusive.[7] Currently, the focal point in the debate over the nature of these differences originates with the work of another psychological pioneer: British psychologist Charles Spearman. In establishing the concept of general mental ability (*g*) as the single most common factor in human intelligence, Spearman recognized that both nature and nurture affect differences in *g* and that these latent factors are distributed *unevenly* throughout the population. Like Thorndike, Spearman recognized that the greatest variation in mental ability within any population is among individuals while slight *average* differences in intelligence occur between races.[8] As Spearman put it;

> On the whole, there has been found a large body of evidence that races do differ from one another, at any rate with respect of *g*. And there have been some indications – as yet hardly decisive – that such differences persist even when the members of the respective races are living in the same environment, educational, and otherwise; to this extent, then, the cause would appear fairly traceable to inheritance.

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[8] Spearman, Charles *The Abilities of Man* The Macmillan Co., 1927.

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> Nevertheless such racial differences, even if truly existing, are indubitably small as compared with those that exist between individuals belonging to one and the same race. Proof of the influence of heredity in the former case can then, after all, carry us but a small way towards estimating its scope in the latter.[9]

After decades of rigorous scientific analysis over the sources of human conduct, behavioral scientists have a better understanding of how individual and group differences in personality, intelligence and temperament *influence* human behavior.[10] Contemporary research findings reveal *some* evidence for racial differences in human traits despite the contentious nature of this topic.[11] While only a handful of scholars have explored the broader social implications of these differences, from an empirical standpoint, the issue of racial differences in IQ remains the focus of numerous scientific inquiries. (Detailed summaries of the scholarly literature appear elsewhere for those who wish to consult more thorough accounts.)[12] In nearly a century of

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[9] Spearman, Ibid., p. 380.

[10] Degler, Carl N. *In Search of Human Nature: The Decline and Revival of Darwinism in American Social Thought* Oxford University Press 1991. Richards, Robert J. *Darwin and the Emergence of Evolutionary Theories of Mind and Behavior* University of Chicago Press 1987. Wachs, Theodore D. *The Nature of Nurture* Sage 1992. Walsh, Anthony *Biosociology: An Emerging Paradigm* Praeger 1995. Wilson, Edward O. *Sociobiology: The New Synthesis* Harvard University Press 1975.

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psychological testing, the black-white IQ gap of 15 points (one standard deviation) has remained essentially intact.[13] Explanations for this difference in IQ fluctuate over the years, though a converging amount of *indirect* evidence indicates a substantial genetic role.

Arthur R. Jensen, emeritus professor of psychology at the University of California, revisited the issue in 1969 with the publication of a much heralded paper in the *Harvard Educational Review*.[14] Jensen's hypothesis – that this difference in black-white IQ scores reflects sizable heritability differences in cognitive ability – touched off a marathon debate over the effects of nature and nurture on human intelligence.[15] In an extensive analysis of thirteen independent studies that reveal black-white differences from various psychometric tests, Jensen found that the best explanation for this persistent racial gap is Spearman's hypothesis.[16] In other words, the factors that produce a general level of intelligence

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What They Mean Praeger 1997. Osborne, R. Travis & Frank C. J. McGurk (eds.) *The Testing of Negro Intelligence* (volume 2) The Foundation for Human Understanding 1982. Osborne, R. Travis *Twins: Black and White* The Foundation for Human Understanding 1980. Pearson, Roger *Heredity and Humanity: Race, Eugenics and Modern Science* Scott-Townsend 1996. Pearson, Roger (ed.) *Shockley on Eugenics and Race* Scott-Townsend 1992. Rushton, J. Philippe "The Equalitarian Dogma Revisited" *Intelligence* Vol. 19, 1994., pp. 263-280. Seligman, Daniel *A Question of Intelligence: The IQ Debate in America* Birch Lane Press 1992. Shuey, Audrey M. *The Testing of Negro Intelligence* (2nd ed.) Social Science Press 1966. Vernon, Philip E. *Intelligence: Heredity and Environment* W. H. Freeman 1979.

[13] Lynn, Richard "Cross-Cultural Differences in Intelligence and Personality" in *International Handbook of Personality and Intelligence* by Donald H. Saklofske & Moshe Zeidner Plenum Press 1995. Lynn, Richard "The Evolution of Racial Differences in Intelligence" *Mankind Quarterly* Vol. 32, No. 1-2, Fall-Winter 1991, pp. 99-121. Lynn, Richard "Race Differences in Intelligence: A Global Perspective" *Mankind Quarterly* Vol. 31, No. 3, Spring 1991., 255-296.

[14] Jensen, Arthur R. "How Much Can We Boost IQ and Scholastic Achievement?" *Harvard Educational Review* Vol. 39, No. 1, Winter 1969, pp. 1-123.

[15] Bodmer, Walter F. and L. L. Cavalli-Sforza "Intelligence and Race" *Scientific American* October 1970 Vol. 223, No. 4, pp. 19-29. Eysenck, H. J. *The IQ Argument: Race, Intelligence and Education* The Library Press 1971. Eysenck, H. J. & L. Kamin *The Intelligence Controversy* Wiley 1981. Herrnstein, Richard *I.Q. in the Meritocracy* Little, Brown & Co., 1973. Modgil, Sohan & Celia Modgil (eds.) *Arthur Jensen: Consensus and Controversy* The Falmer Press 1987. Tucker, William H. *The Science and Politics of Racial Research* University of Illinois Press 1994. Harwood, Jonathan "The Race-Intelligence Controversy: A Sociological Approach I - Professional Factors" *Social Studies of Science* Vol. 6, 1976, pp. 369-394. "The Race-Intelligence Controversy: A Sociological Approach II - 'External' Factors" *Social Studies of Science* Vol. 7, 1977, pp. 1-30.

[16] Jensen, Arthur R. "The Nature of the black-white difference on various psychometric tests: Spearman's hypothesis" *Behavioral and Brain Sciences* Vol. 8, 1985, pp. 193-263.

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also account for most of the black-white difference as measured on highly *g*-loaded IQ tests. Jensen merely confirmed what Spearman initially suspected seventy years ago. His findings along with peer commentary from 36 scholars appeared in *The Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, a prestigious journal in the behavioral sciences.[17] In another study seven years later, Jensen summarized the relevance of Spearman's *g* to this persistent black-white difference in IQ;

> The overall conclusion from all these studies is that Spearman's hypothesis has been borne out significantly by every study (i.e., 13 of 13) and no appropriate data set has yet been found that contradicts Spearman's hypothesis. Hence, in the case of conventional psychometric tests, Spearman's hypothesis is really no longer an hypothesis but an empirical fact.[18]

In this particular study, Jensen reported the latest results from chronometric measures of Spearman's *g*. Jensen examined the reaction times of 820 middle-class children (grades 4-6) from racially integrated public elementary schools in California. (The sex ratio of the sample size was within 1% of 50:50.) The experiment, which measures the speed of reaction time on elementary cognitive tasks (ECTs), consists of three distinct tasks: simple reaction time (SRT), choice reaction time (CRT) and discrimination reaction time or oddman RT. These tasks gauge the reaction time of each participant's finger movements in response to one or more lights on a console panel. Each task is repeated several times and the reactions are measured in milliseconds. As the degree of complexity intensifies from a basic stimulant response (SRT) to more complex stimuli (CRT and oddman RT), individual differences emerge in the measured speed of reaction time. Previous chronometric studies correlate the mental speed and efficiency of reaction times to psychometric *g*.[19] Furthermore, the results of these reaction time tasks

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[17] Jensen, Arthur R. Ibid. "Continuing Commentary" *Behavioral and Brain Sciences* Vol. 10, 1987, pp. 507-537.

[18] Jensen, Arthur R. "Spearman's Hypothesis Tested With Chronometric Information-Processing Tasks" *Intelligence* Vol. 17, 1993, p. 48.

[19] Jensen, Arthur R. "Reaction Time and Psychometric *g*" in *A Model of Intelligence* (ed.) H. J. Eysenck, Springer-Verlag 1982. Jensen, Arthur R. "Speed of information processing and population differences" in *Human Abilities in Cultural Context* (eds.) S. H. Irvine & J. W. Berry, Cambridge University Press, 1988, pp. 105-145. Vernon, Philip A. (ed.) *Speed of Information-Processing and Intelligence* Alex 1987.

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corroborate the black-white differences that are found on highly *g*-loaded psychometric tests. As Jensen put it;

> In both studies, each one based on chronometric variables derived from tasks that minimize variance attributable to individual differences in prior knowledge, measuring mainly individual differences in speed and consistency of information processing, the outcome predicted by Spearman's hypothesis is significantly borne out. That is, the size of the standardized mean white-black difference (or ES) on the chronometric variables is directly related to the variables' loadings on psychometric *g*, as predicted by Spearman's hypothesis. Moreover, the degree of correlation between VES and Vg on these chronometric variables is of about the same magnitude as the corresponding correlation found with conventional batteries of mental tests.[20]

Since the findings from these chronometric studies corroborate black-white differences from the psychometric record, the bio-social factors that influence *g* are most likely the cause of the racial gap in general mental ability. In other words, the measured difference between these two groups is a difference in g, which reflects social as well as biological factors. Jensen points out that Spearman's hypothesis remains an undisputed empirical fact. What is significant about these findings is the extent to which they nullify conventional explanations for racial differences in IQ scores. The results of this experiment, 820 subjects (585 white and 235 black children) from middle class backgrounds who attend racially integrated elementary schools, undermine the credibility of discrimination and deprivation-based theories. Typical among explanations for racial differences in IQ is the detriment of a disadvantaged environment, yet this claim is difficult to substantiate given that such adverse conditions are inapplicable in this instance. For example, none of the children in this study attended either low-income urban or racially segregated schools. From a developmental perspective, the middle class backgrounds of these children were unlikely to be that *detrimentally different* in order to account for these reaction time differences. The simplistic explanation that the underlying sources of racial differences in both reaction time and psychometric measures of general intelligence are *strictly environmental* is quite dubious.

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[20] Jensen, Arthur R. 1993, p. 70.

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The research findings compiled by Richard Lynn, director of the Ulster Institute for Social Research, provide additional evidence that genetic factors influence racial differences in IQ. Lynn collected the results of mean IQ scores from numerous international studies.[21] The findings of this international survey show a consistent global pattern of racial differences among various population groups.[22] These results are presented in the table below.[23]

Median IQ Levels by Race

RACE	LOCATION	INTELLIGENCE	NO. OF STUDIES
Mongoloids	East Asia	103	23
Caucasoids	Europe	100	39
Caucasoids	United States	100	
Negroids	Africa	75	11
CN-hybrids	United States	84	169
CN-hybrids	Britain	87	3
American Indians	North America	89	15
South East Asians	South East Asia	90	5

Lynn concludes that the average Asian IQ is slightly higher than the average Caucasian which remains at least one standard deviation (15 points) above the average African IQ.[24] Lynn also includes other ethnic differences in this survey, such as Amerindians and South East Asians.[25] Further indirect evidence of the genetic hypothesis comes from the results of the Minnesota Transracial Adoption Study.[26] This longitudinal project tracked the intellectual and social development of 176 adopted black, white, mixed-race and 'Indian/Asian' children who

[21] Lynn, Richard "Race Differences in Intelligence: A Global Perspective" *Mankind Quarterly* Vol. 31, No. 3, Spring 1991, pp. 255-296.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Lynn, Richard "Cross-Cultural Differences in Intelligence and Personality" in *International Handbook of Personality and Intelligence* by Donald H. Saklofske and Moshe Zeidner, Plenum 1995, p. 110.

[24] Lynn, Richard 1995, pp. 109-110.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Weinberg, R., S. Scarr & I. Waldman "The Minnesota Transracial Adoption Study: A Follow-up of IQ test performance at adolescence" *Intelligence* Vol. 16, 1992, pp. 117-135.

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were raised in 101 white households.[27] Modest gains were reported when the children were tested at 7 years of age, but test results at age 17 show that these gains were temporary and that the IQ scores tended to reflect the intelligence of the biological parents rather than the foster parents.[28]

In addition to the evidence from psychometric and chronometric studies, Lynn points out that the comparative record of cultural progress toward civilization provides additional evidence for race differences. One of the more exhaustive comparisons between ethnicity and civilization is the definitive work of the late John Randal Baker, Oxford University zoologist and Emeritus Reader in Cytology. In his 1974 book *Race*, Baker evaluates in comparative terms the attainment of modern civilization by ethnicity.[29] After analyzing various historical accounts, which include observations of several explorers who traveled throughout Africa and a comparative scale for evaluating the evolution from primitive society to civilization, Baker concluded that the inhabitants of sub-Sahara Africa made little if any original contribution to civilization.[30] Egalitarian critics who dismiss the biological concept of race usually sidestep the evidence from Baker's comprehensive study of ethnology.[31]

Some of the most compelling evidence for a genetic basis of racial variation stems from the work of J. Philippe Rushton, professor of

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[27] Ibid. Scarr, Sandra and Richard A. Weinberg, "IQ Test Performance of Black Children Adopted by White Families" in *Race, Social Class, and Individual Differences in IQ* (ed.) Sandra Scarr, Erlbaum 1981., pp. 109-135.

[28] Levin, Michael "Comment on the Minnesota Transracial Adoption Study" *Intelligence* Vol. 19, 1994, pp. 13-20. Lynn, Richard "Some reinterpretations of the Minnesota Transracial Adoption Study" *Intelligence* Vol. 19, 1994, pp. 21-27. Waldman, Irwin, Richard A. Weinberg & Sandra Scarr "Racial-Group Differences in IQ in the Minnesota Transracial Adoption Study: A Reply to Levin and Lynn" *Intelligence* Vol. 19, 1994, pp. 29-44. Levin, Michael *Why Race Matters: Race Differences and What They Mean* Praeger, 1997, pp. 106-111.

[29] Baker, John R. *Race* Oxford University Press 1974, pp. 506-529.

[30] Ibid., pp. 533-534.

[31] Barkan, Elazar *The Retreat of Scientific Racism* Cambridge University Press 1992. Cavalli-Sforza, L. L. Paolo Menozzi & Alberto Piazza *The History and Geography of Human Genes* Princeton University Press 1994. Hannaford, Ivan *Race: The History of an Idea in the West* The Johns Hopkins University Press 1996. Tucker, William H. *The Science and Politics of Racial Research* University of Illinois Press 1994.

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psychology at the University of Western Ontario.[32] Since the mid-1980s, Rushton has scrutinized 60 diverse variables which form a similar pattern of racial variation along this Asian > European > African continuum. His 1995 book *Race, Evolution and Behavior* provides a theoretical context for these socio-biological variables and explains comprehensively the congruency of this global racial constellation.[33] This scale of variation includes: brain size measurements, IQ scores, maturation rate, personality, temperament, social organization, impulsiveness, marital stability, rates of sexually transmitted diseases and criminality.[34] Rushton clarifies in meticulous detail the causal relationship between these variables and *why* an evolutionary-based theory, which incorporates gene-environment interaction, more thoroughly accounts for this widespread pattern of racial variation. As Rushton points out, if this much variation is *exclusively* the result of environmental differences, the environmental factors that produce these *average* differences remain unknown! Since the publication of his book two years ago, Rushton has presented additional evidence to sustain this evolutionary-based genetic theory:

- In a major study on the correlates of brain size and cognitive ability, Rushton and C. Davison Ankney present data from various techniques, including brain weight at autopsy, magnetic resonance imaging (MRI) and endocranial measurements to show a .44 correlation between brain size and cognitive ability. This correlation is about the same magnitude as the correlation between socio-economic status and IQ. Rushton and Ankney validate the findings from sixteen previous studies in which brain size and cognitive ability

[32] Rushton, J. Philippe "Sociobiology: Toward a theory of individual and group differences in personality and social behavior" in *Annals of Theoretical Psychology* (eds.) J. R. Royce & L. P. Mos (Vol. 2) Plenum 1984. "Differential *K* theory: The sociobiology of individual and group differences" *Personality and Individual Differences* Vol. 6, 1985, pp. 441-52. "Race differences in behavior: A review and evolutionary analysis" *Personality and Individual Differences* Vol. 9, 1988, pp. 1009-1024; Vol. 9, pp. 1035-1040. "Genetic similarity, human altruism, and group selection" *Behavioral and Brain Sciences* Vol. 12, 1989, pp. 503-559. "Do r-K strategies underlie human race differences?" *Canadian Psychology* Vol. 32, 1991, pp. 29-42.

[33] Rushton, J. Philippe *Race, Evolution, and Behavior: a life history perspective* Transaction 1995.

[34] Ibid., pp. 1-41.

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vary by age, sex, social class and race.[35]

- In a review of international crime rates, Rushton found that Asians generally commit fewer violent crimes (murder, rape, assault) than Europeans who, in turn, commit fewer violent crimes than Africans. Comparatively speaking, Asian countries also have less violent crime while European countries have slightly higher rates of violent crime. African and Caribbean countries have some of the highest rates of violent crime.[36]

- Recent studies by Rushton and others confirm that testosterone levels induce human aggression significantly. Harris, Rushton, Hampson and Jackson report that among 306 university students (155 men & 151 women) that "men averaged five times the amount of salivary testosterone as women and rated themselves as more aggressive and less nurturing. Within each sex, testosterone was positively correlated with aggression and negatively correlated with pro-social personality."[37] Differences in testosterone levels may not only account for the widespread gender gap in violent crime. Ellis and Nyborg found average race differences in testosterone levels between 525 black and 3,654 non-Hispanic white army veterans from the Vietnam war era.[38]

- Rushton examined several hundred twin pairs in another study and "found that general misbehavior among men is 75% heritable for men and that violence is 50% heritable". Rushton's findings are consistent with other studies since Johannes Lange's classic study on the concordance ratios between conviction rates of identical and

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[35] Rushton, J. Philippe & C. Davison Ankney "Brain size and cognitive ability: Correlations with age, sex, social class, and race" *Psychometric Bulletin & Review* Vol. 3, No. 1, 1996, pp. 21-36.

[36] Rushton, J. Philippe "Race and Crime: International Data for 1989-1990" *Psychological Reports* Vol. 76, 1995, pp. 307-312. "Race and Crime: An International Dilemma" *Society* Vol. 32, No. 2 January/February 1995, pp. 37-41.

[37] Harris, Julie Aitken, J. Philippe Rushton, Elizabeth Hampson, and Douglas N. Jackson "Salivary Testosterone and Self-Report Aggressive and Pro-Social Personality Characteristics in Men and Women" *Aggressive Behavior* Vol. 22, 1996, pp. 321-331.

[38] Ellis, Lee & Helmuth Nyborg "Racial/ethnic variations in male testosterone levels: a probable contributor to group differences in health" *Steroids* Vol. 57, February 1992, pp. 72-75.

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fraternal twins.[39]

Critics of behavioral genetic research like Stretesky generally agree that genes influence human behavior but typically reject gene/environment-based explanations. Ever reluctant to acknowledge *how* genes contribute to differences in human behavior, these critics simply minimize as much as possible the extent to which genes may influence this variation. Stretesky adopts this same approach since he admits "that genetics may explain some variation in human behavior", yet rejects *any* gene/environment-based explanation for race differences, which he believes is *entirely* "the result of the environment". Such an extreme assertion - that environmental factors explain this persistent widespread pattern of human differences - merely underscores one of the points in my previous essay. Indeed, Stretesky's own argument confirms the fact that biological factors are frequently ignored as contributors to social and racial inequality. Sociologist Lee Ellis attributes this diagnostic trend within the field of sociology to 'biophobia'.[40] Such an extreme environmentalist view puts critics like Stretesky at odds with a consensus of behavioral scientists from the testing community.[41] A thorough survey of 661 testing experts by Mark Snyderman and Stanley Rothman revealed:

- 53% of the respondents either somewhat or strongly agreed that a consensus exists on the meaning and concept of 'intelligence'.

- 94% of the respondents identified at least one out of five sources of evidence for the heritability of intelligence.

- 45% of the respondents believed that both genetic and environmental variation explained the source of black-white differences in IQ while 15% attributed this gap to environmental factors alone. Only 1% attributed the differences entirely to genetic factors and 14% did not respond.

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[39] Rushton, J. Philippe "Self-reported delinquency and violence in adult twins" *Psychiatric Genetics* Vol. 6, 1996. Lange, Johannes *Crime as Destiny* Scott-Townsend 1996.

[40] Ellis, Lee "A Discipline in Peril: Sociology's Future Hinges on Curing Its Biophobia" *The American Sociologist* Summer 1996, pp. 21-39.

[41] Snyderman, Mark & Stanley Rothman *The IQ Controversy: The Media and Public Policy* Transaction 1988.

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- 55% of the respondents believed that the combination of genetic and environmental factors produced differences in socio-economic status (SES).[42]

In the wake of the criticism that followed the publication of *The Bell Curve*, the American Psychological Association established a task force panel of experts to review the major findings on intelligence. The findings from this inquiry, which were published in the February 1996 issue of *American Psychologist*, complement *The Bell Curve's* overall assessment on the scientific study of human intelligence.[43] One notable exception is the explanation for race differences in IQ. The APA panel concluded that contemporary genetic or environmental theories inadequately explain this racial gap. Although it was found that neither test bias, culture nor socio-economic status could entirely account for this sustained difference, the task force found no *direct* evidence to corroborate a genetic explanation. Hence, the latent factors that are directly responsible for racial differences in IQ remain obscured.[44] Notwithstanding that the report's overall findings were balanced and impartial, the assertion that there is no empirical evidence that supports a "genetic interpretation" is suspect. Along with other scholars who took exception to this particular matter, Rushton points out;

> The omitted evidence includes the following: (a) The distributions of racial differences in IQ and speed of decision making found within the United States occur internationally. (b) IQ subtests high in heritability within races predict racial differences better than do subtests low in heritability. (c) Transracial-adoption studies find that East Asian adoptees grow to score higher on IQ tests than do White adoptees but Black adoptees grow to score lower. (d) Mixed race offspring average IQ scores between those of the two parental groups. (e) Regression to the mean is greater for Black children of high IQ parents and siblings and less for Black children of low IQ parents and siblings than it is for their White counterparts. (f) IQ scores relate to brain size, and the worldwide distribution of brain size parallels that of IQ. (g) White-Black differences in brain size

[42] Ibid.

[43] Neisser, Ulric et. al., "Intelligence: Knowns and Unknowns" *American Psychologist* Vol. 51, No. 2, February 1996, pp. 77-101.

[44] Ibid. pp. 96-97.

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> disappear when Whites and Blacks are matched for IQ. (h) Other variables such as crime, testosterone, the rate of dizygotic twinning per 1,000 births (caused by a double ovulation), and sexual behavior show the same international racial patterns as do IQ scores, with Europeans averaging intermediate IQ scores relative to those of Asians or Africans, thereby implying IQ differences are part of a broader based life history with roots deep in evolution.[45]

In reply to Rushton, Neisser dismissed the criticisms of Lynn and Rushton, which include the findings from the Minnesota Transracial Adoption Study and evidence that racial differences in mental ability correlate with brain size. Neisser noted that, "I do not have the space or stomach to reply to all the points raised by Rushton (1997)".[46] The only reasonable inference that explains Neisser's evasively curt reply is that he concedes, albeit reluctantly, Rushton's main argument. If there was sufficient enough evidence to refute Rushton's claims, it is difficult to believe that Neisser would pass up such an opportunity because of insufficient space or an upset stomach. Instead of either recognizing the validity of Rushton's reply or providing an alternative explanation, Neisser simply countered with an ad hominem swipe.

As to Stretesky's point that race differences are explained *entirely* by environmental factors, the research findings reveal a *considerable amount of indirect evidence* for genetic-based race differences in general mental ability. Although the precise nature and magnitude of this difference remains unknown, it is reasonable to conclude that this body of evidence indicates a significant genetic contribution to racial variation in IQ. A common misconception that Stretesky shares with other social scientists is that nurturing experiences in human development are viewed *exclusively* as an environmental result.[47] Genetic contributions to

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[45] Rushton, J. Philippe "Race, IQ and the APA Report on *The Bell Curve*" *American Psychologist* Vol. 52, No. 1, January 1997, pp. 69-70. Lynn, Richard "Direct Evidence for a Genetic Basis for Black-White Differences in IQ" pp. 73-74. Reed, T. E. "The Genetic Hypothesis: It Was Not Tested but It Could Have Been" pp. 77-78.

[46] Neisser, Ulric "Never a Dull Moment" *American Psychologist* Vol. 52, No. 1, January 1997, pp. 79-81.

[47] Plomin, Robert *Genetics and experience: The interplay between nature and nurture* Sage 1994. Plomin, Robert & C. S. Bergeman "The nature of nurture: Genetic influences on 'environmental' measures" (including open peer commentary by 40 scholars) *Behavioral and Brain Sciences* Vol. 14, 1991, pp. 373-427. Scarr, Sandra & Kathleen McCartney "How People Make Their Own Environments: A Theory of Genotype › Environment Effects" *Child Development* Vol. 54, 1983, pp. 424-435. Scarr, Sandra "Biological and Cultural

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nurture are often attributed to environmental measures. As Robert Plomin once noted, "genetic influence is so ubiquitous and pervasive in behavior that a shift in emphasis is warranted: Ask not what is heritable, ask what is not heritable".[48]

The notion that the behavior of individuals is passively shaped from one experience to another, irrespective of predisposition in character, temperament, ability, motivation, and personality, is simply ludicrous. Sociologist Anthony Walsh clarifies the interaction of nature and nurture on human behavior, "Human beings are active explorers of their environment; they change it and mold it just as it changes and molds them. Environmental experiences function to augment genetic predispositions, doing so weakly or strongly at different stages of development within different social contexts. We cannot allow ourselves to be lulled into the assumption of a constancy in either individuals' constitutions or the social environment they find themselves in".[49] The pervasive belief that racial differences are the result of social inequality is explained, in part, by the reluctance to consider further probes in behavioral and quantitative genetic analysis. As Baker explains, this hesitancy merely circumvents genetic explanations of race differences;

> The decrease in interest in major morphological differences between human taxa is due to the fact that no one has discovered how to investigate genetically the system of polygenes that controls the development of the structures in question; and there is a disposition nowadays to ignore whatever cannot be traced to its causes. Yet facts are facts, and remain so whether or not at a particular stage in the progress of biology one can explain them. Attention is focused today on those 'secondary' differences that are due to genes that can be studied singly and occur in most ethnic taxa, though in different proportions in different taxa. The study of these genes has been of great intrinsic interest, but it has necessarily led, from its very

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Diversity: The Legacy of Darwin for Development" *Child Development* Vol. 64, 1993, pp. 1333-1353. Scarr, Sandra "Developmental Theories for the 1990s: Development and Individual Differences" *Child Development* Vol. 63, 1992, pp. 1-19. Scarr, Sandra "Behavior-Genetic and Socialization theories on intelligence: Truce and reconciliation" in *Intelligence, Heredity, and Environment* (eds.) Sternberg, Robert & Elena Grigorenko Cambridge University Press 1997. pp. 3-41.

[48] Plomin, Robert "Environment and Genes: Determinants of Behavior" *American Psychologist* Vol. 44, No. 2, February 1989, p. 108.

[49] Walsh, Anthony *Biosociology: An Emerging Paradigm* Praeger 1995, pp. 40-41.

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nature, to a tendency to minimize or even disregard the extent to which the ethnic taxa of man do actually differ from one another.[50]

Critics like Stretesky carry the burden of proving that these differences are irrelevant to life outcomes. As Lloyd Humphreys once put it, no credible behavioral scientist now believes that $h^2 = 0$.[51] Critics who claim otherwise have an obligation to present evidence to the contrary. Stretesky's claim that "we have never lived in a socially just society", and therefore are incapable of pinpointing the sources of inequality, is a red herring and straightforward fallacy. By shifting the empirical criteria of proof to an unattainable or implausible standard, Stretesky claims rather disingenuously that the validity of race differences as a contributor to social inequality rests upon an unknowable factor. This argument is a common fallacy known as *argumentum ad ignorantiam*. Value statements as such are rhetorical ploys that are utilized to bolster empirically implausible positions of an ideological nature. Social or racial inequality simply does not exist in a vacuum and to this extent there remains the question of causality.

Simply invoking the "unjust society" argument is not enough to refute the involvement of biological factors as a cause of social inequality. In a glaring contradiction, egalitarians routinely point out that the influence of genetic factors in behavioral traits does not invalidate the role of the environment, otherwise known as the DNA-is-not-destiny argument, yet egalitarians regularly embrace discrimination-based models as the *exclusive* source of racial inequality. As Richard Herrnstein pointed out several years ago, the presumption that a 'natural condition' of equality inevitably emerges once the barriers of discrimination are removed in society is a fallacy. "The crucial assumption of the model is that in the absence of barriers, the groups would be proportionally equal at every level of society".[52] Implicit in this egalitarian rationale is that phenotypic variation (individual and group differences) in human behavioral traits is simply an insignificant factor of social inequality. This natural condition of universal human equality, which the previous essay noted, remains empirically untenable. In response, Stretesky offers no

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[50] Baker, John R., 1974, p. 534.

[51] Humphreys, Lloyd G. "Limited vision in the social sciences" *American Journal of Psychology* Vol. 104, No. 3, Fall 1991, pp. 333-353.

[52] Herrnstein, Richard J. "Still an American Dilemma" *The Public Interest* Winter 1990, No. 98, p. 6.

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compelling evidence that racial equality is a natural condition of mankind.[53]

Another point that Stretesky makes in his reply pertains to one of the more detailed criticisms of The Bell Curve. *Stretesky argues that Herrnstein and Murray made unreasonable inferences as to the magnitude of IQ in explaining socio-economic differences and other social problems. Stretesky claims that Herrnstein and Murray's data on IQ could only account for 10% of the variance in socio-economic status. Are the conclusions in* The Bell Curve *inflated and is IQ relatively an unimportant indicator of socio-economic differences?*

Since Murray and others address this and other related criticisms in several published accounts, there is very little to add to what has already been clarified elsewhere.[54] Murray specifically addresses the point that Stretesky raises in an interview with the editor of *Skeptic* magazine.[55] Simply put, statistical interpretations are mainly general estimates or probabilities in terms of explaining any given phenomena. The problem in this instance is an interpretation over causal relationships, most notably the *strict interpretation* of the *effect* of an isolated variable among other variables in regression analysis. Conjectures over the causal relationship between socio-economic variables like parents' educational level, IQ and household income are complicated by the degree of inter-correlation. Strict causal interpretations obscure the *influence* of IQ because the corresponding SES variables are viewed as autonomous factors. In essence, this washes out a considerable amount of the overall variance attributable to IQ. Moreover, small percentages may actually produce sizable effects. Lubinski and Humphreys elaborate upon this point, noting that base rates, effect sizes and cascade effects are "relevant

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[53] Levin, Michael *Why Race Matters: Race Differences and What They Mean* Praeger 1997. (Levin's thorough analysis of the moral and social implications of race differences is an unparalleled study of modern race relations. 'Critical race theory' or the argument that 'white racism' explains racial inequality is thoroughly discredited.)

[54] Murray, Charles "The Bell Curve and Its Critics" *Commentary* Vol. 99, No. 5, May 1995, pp. 23-30. "IQ, Race, and Heredity" *Commentary* Vol. 99, No. 8, August 1995, pp. 15-25. Herrnstein, Richard & Charles Murray *The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life* (paperback edition) Free Press 1996, pp. 553-575. "The Eternal Triangle: Race, Class, and IQ" *Current Anthropology* Vol. 37, Supplement, February 1996, pp. S143-S181.

[55] Miele, Frank "For Whom The Bell Curve Tolls" *Skeptic* Vol. 3, No. 2, 1995, pp. 38-39.

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considerations when evaluating small correlations".[56] As Murray points out, that IQ accounts for 10% of the variance may seem insignificant without further reflection, yet this small percentage may in fact yield significant consequences.[57] Rushton and Ankney elaborate upon this statistical interpretation in a related context;

> Regardless, the "percent variance accounted for" argument is statistically correct, but erroneous in substance as discussed at length by proponents of meta-analysis, including Rosenthal (1984) and Hunter and Schmidt (1990). The r^2, and other indices of "per cent variance accounted for", are related in a very nonlinear way to the magnitude of effect sizes that determine impact in the real world, that is, small correlations can have large impacts. An effect size of even 0.10 for a medical procedure, for example, would increase the chance of success from 50:50 to 55:45. A relatively small difference at the mean can generate large differences at the tails of the distribution.[58]

Several general criticisms of *The Bell Curve* are meticulously examined by several prominent scholars in a recent special issue of the journal *Intelligence*.[59] The notion that Herrnstein and Murray either misinterpreted their own analysis or simply derived improper statistical inferences from their own data has not withstood further scrutiny. Again, a considerable amount of this criticism has been redressed by Murray and refuted by other scholars.[60] The high standards of objectivity and open-mindedness that Stretesky heeds apply to IQ critics as well. Moreover, Stretesky cites Gould's *Mismeasure of Man*, one of five pre-*Bell Curve* publications, to substantiate his own criticism of *The Bell Curve*. Since this material underscores at best merely general criticisms of psychometrics, IQ, and behavioral genetic research, most of

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[56] Lubinski, David & L. Humphreys "Incorporating General Intelligence Into Epidemiology and the Social Sciences" *Intelligence* Vol. 24, No. 1, 1997, p. 173.

[57] Miele, 1995, pp. 38-39.

[58] Rushton, J. Philippe and C. Davison Ankney "Fallacious Analyses Cannot Test for Racial Differences: A Reply to Gorey and Cryns" *Personality and Individual Differences* Vol. 19, No. 3, 1995, pp. 355-357.

[59] Gottfredson, Linda S. "Intelligence and Social Policy" *Intelligence* Vol. 24, No. 1, 1997.

[60] "The Eternal Triangle: Race, Class, and IQ" *Current Anthropology* February 1996 Supplement, pp. S143-S181.

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this criticism has been repudiated elsewhere.[61] Gould's "revised" version of *Mismeasure of Man* is an excellent case in point.

In a blistering point-by-point critique of this "revised" work, Rushton discredits Gould's assessment of psychometrics, behavioral genetic research and the legacy of IQ testing.[62] Detailing Gould's distortions of: brain size and IQ correlations, craniometry, the work of scientific pioneers, genetic links to criminality, the role of psychological testing on U.S. immigration policy, the concept of general mental ability and the controversy over *The Bell Curve*, Rushton effectively describes Gould's work as a 'political polemic' that lacks any scientific credibility. As Rushton accurately points out, this "revised" edition is merely an expanded reprint of the 1981 version since very little of the original text has been "revised". Although Gould's essays on *The Bell Curve* are included in the appendix, the book completely ignores a multitude of research from the behavioral and life sciences in what scientists have described as the 'Decade of the Brain'.

For example, Gould rejects the concept of general mental ability (*g*) even though one of the more exhaustive surveys of psychometric and chronometric studies corroborates *g* as a common factor among cognitive abilities.[63] Gould lampoons the efforts of early scientific pioneers like Paul Broca, Francis Galton and Samuel George Morton for their work in craniometry, which links head size to intelligence, even though MRI technology and other modern research methods confirm a .40 correlation between brain size and IQ. By devoting most of his attention to the

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[61] Bouchard, Thomas J. Jr., "The Hereditarian Research Program: Triumphs and Tribulations" in *Arthur Jensen: Consensus and Controversy* (eds.) Sohan Modgil and C. Modgil, The Falmer Press, 1987, pp. 55-70. Bouchard, Thomas J., Jr., "IQ similarity in twins reared apart: Findings and responses to critics" in *Intelligence, Heredity and Environment* (eds.) R. J. Sternberg and E. Grigorenko, Cambridge University Press, 1997, pp. 126-160. Bouchard, Thomas J. Jr., "The Genetic Architecture of Human Intelligence" in *Biological Approaches to the Study of Human Intelligence* (ed.) Philip A. Vernon, Ablex, 1993. Davis, Bernard D. *Storm Over Biology: Essays on Science, Sentiment, and Public Policy* Prometheus Books, 1986. Fulker, D. "Book review *The Science and Politics of IQ* by Leon Kamin" *American Journal of Psychology* Vol. 88, 1975, pp. 505-519. Ingle, Dwight J. "Fallacies in Arguments on Human Differences" in *Human Variation: The Biopsychology of Age, Race, and Sex* (eds.) R. Travis Osborne, Clyde E. Noble and Nathaniel Weyl, Academic Press, 1978, pp. 5-27.

[62] Rushton, J. Philippe "Race, Intelligence, and the Brain: The Errors and Omissions of the 'Revised' Edition of S. J. Gould's *The Mismeasure of Man*" *Personality and Individual Differences* (in press).

[63] Carroll, John B. *Human Cognitive Abilities: A Survey of Factor Analytic Studies* Cambridge University Press 1993.

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early years of psychometry and craniometry, Gould disingenuously portrays the contemporary fields of behavioral genetics and differential psychology by the primitive methods and crude assessments of another era. A number of prominent figures in psychology, like Brigham, Goddard, Terman, Thorndike and Yerkes as well as the Italian sociologist Caesare Lombroso, represent straw man caricatures of 'biological determinists' who, by masquerading under the banner of objectivity, merely rationalized the 'oppressive social hierarchy' of 'racial ranking'. The underlying motives of these scientists according to Gould were subjectively political. As Rushton carefully points out, if anyone is grinding a political axe it is Gould![64]

In both versions of his book, Gould devotes part of one chapter on the research and legacy of the distinguished British psychologist Sir Cyril Burt. He begins by reviewing the controversy that has engulfed Burt's posthumous reputation. A few years after Burt's death in 1971, some researchers and a British journalist accused the eminent psychologist of fabricating data to substantiate his own 'hereditarian' views on intelligence. The publication of Leslie Hearnshaw's "authorized" biography of Burt in 1979 convinced many that the charges of fraud were valid allegations. Gould writes: "I think that the splendid 'official' biography of Burt recently published by L. S. Hearnshaw (1979) has resolved the issue so far as the data permit (Hearnshaw was commissioned to write his book by Burt's sister before any charges had been leveled)".[65] What Gould fails to point out in his 'revised' edition is that the controversy did not end with the publication of Hearnshaw's biography, if anything it was just beginning.

Two British scholars independently examined these and other allegations against Burt. After reviewing the circumstantial evidence in meticulous detail, both concluded that the allegations were largely unsubstantiated.[66] In a third volume of edited papers on the controversy that appeared two years ago, the contributors concluded that the evidence against Burt was inconclusive.[67] Since Gould completely disregards this body of research in his "revised" edition, thereby misleading his readers about the status of these allegations, one begins

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[64] Rushton, J. Philippe "Review Essay" *Society* March/April 1997, pp. 78-82.

[65] Gould, S. J. *The Mismeasure of Man* W. W. Norton, 1981, p. 236.

[66] Joynson, Robert B. *The Burt Affair* Routledge 1989. Fletcher, Ronald *Science, Ideology and the Media: The Cyril Burt Scandal* Transaction 1991.

[67] Mackintosh, N. J. (ed.) *Cyril Burt: Fraud or Framed* Oxford University Press 1995.

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to wonder just what exactly is "revised" in this "updated" account? The irony of Gould's canard about Burt's alleged dishonesty applies to his own work: if *The Mismeasure of Man* was *actually* "revised", Gould would have no other choice but to jettison his own conclusions! Nothing but sheer deception seems to explain why so much research has been distorted or consistently overlooked.

Other scholars have noted similar inaccuracies in Gould's work, including his erroneous depiction of psychological testing and IQ research. After the publication of *Mismeasure of Man* in 1981, Bernard Davis noted the contrasts between the favorable reception by the popular press and the more critical reviews in the scientific literature. Davis concluded that with the exception of *Scientific American*, the scientific community essentially discarded Gould's work for its lack of objectivity and accuracy.[68] Jensen found that in eight out of nine cited references to his own work, Gould's paraphrases of Jensen's work were either "false, misleading, or grossly caricatured".[69] In one of the more critical reviews, Carroll found Gould's history of mental testing "badly biased" noting that "it is indeed odd that Gould continues to place the burden of his critique on factor analysis, the nature and purpose of which, I believe, he still fails to understand". Unlike a number of other critiques, Carroll explains why Gould's interpretation of factor analysis is misleading and conceptually erroneous.[70] The renown evolutionary biologist John Maynard Smith described how researchers within his own field of expertise view Gould's work;

> Gould occupies a rather curious position, particularly on this side of the Atlantic. Because of the excellence of his essays, he has come to be seen by non-biologists as the preeminent evolutionary theorist. In contrast, the evolutionary biologists with whom I have discussed his work tend to see him as a man whose ideas are so confused as to be hardly worth bothering with, but as one who should not be publicly criticized because he is at least on our side against creationists. All this would not matter, were it not that he is giving non-biologists a largely

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[68] Davis, Bernard D. *Storm Over Biology: Essays on Science, Sentiment and Public Policy* Prometheus Books, 1986, pp. 114-136.

[69] Jensen, Arthur R. "The Debunking of Scientific Fossils and Straw Persons" *Contemporary Education Review* Vol. 1, No. 2, Summer 1982, pp. 121-135.

[70] Carroll, John B. "Reflections on Stephen J. Gould's *The Mismeasure of Man* (1981): A Retrospective Review" *Intelligence* Vol. 21, No. 2, September-October 1995, pp. 121-134.

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false picture of the state of evolutionary theory.[71]

As to Stretesky's assertion that the empirical foundation of *The Bell Curve* rests upon statistical sleight of hand, this frequent allegation has been examined and disputed by other scholars. Furthermore, Stretesky undermines his own credibility by relying upon discredited research to bolster his positions. Critics like Stretesky, who frequently cite Gould's *Mismeasure of Man* in order to justify their own egalitarian views, compound their own efforts by resting their case on a political tract that is replete with exaggerations, misleading claims and errors of omission.

Stretesky questions the extent to which race and genetics are factors that influence violent crime. He argues that measuring the amount of violence in society via "street crime" is misleading because it fails to include other forms of "violence" such as the criminal behavior of corporate executives. In particular, Stretesky compares white male corporate executives to violent criminals. He is presumably talking about the executives of tobacco companies and the like, but those who use the products do so of their own option, whereas those who suffer rape and physical assault seldom chose to do so. Consequently the latter are classified as "violent crime", Who *are violent perpetrators in society and* why?

The demographics of violent crime in the United States are relatively straightforward. Annual statistical surveys and crime reports show that blacks continue to be over represented among those who routinely commit the most serious violent offenses (murder, rape, robbery). Blacks commit approximately 50% of the homicides in the U.S. and constitute 45% of the total arrests for violent crime.[72] Since the mid-1970s, the murder rate for black male juveniles has increased by more than 50%.[73]

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[71] Smith John Maynard "Genes, Memes, & Minds" [review of *Darwin's Dangerous Idea* by Daniel C. Dennett, Simon and Schuster, 1995] *The New York Review of Books* 30 November 1995, p. 46.

[72] Reiss, Albert J. & J. A. Roth *Understanding and Preventing Violence* National Academy Press 1993, pp. 71-72.

[73] Bennett, William J. *The Index of Leading Cultural Indicators* Simon & Schuster 1994, p. 26.

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Homicide Rates per 100,000 Population[74]

Year	Black Males	White males
1980	66.6	10.9
1990	69.2	9.0
1993	69.7	8.6

Approximately 70% of black men in Washington, D.C. are arrested before the age of 35.[75] Nearly 25% of young black males are at any given time incarcerated for committing a felony. The black-white ratio of arrest rate for violent crime is 6:1.[76] As David Lykken points out in his 1995 book *The AntiSocial Personalities*;

> If the Black crime rate were no higher than the rate for Whites, violent crimes in the United States would decrease by half. [The] arrest rate of juveniles for violent crimes was about six times higher for Blacks than for Whites by 1992. Black male juveniles were seven times more likely to murder someone (or to be murdered themselves) in 1980 than were Whites of the same age; by 1990 the ratio had increased to 8:1.[77]

In his recent work on race differences, Levin puts into perspective some of the most revealing data on racial disparities in violent crime.[78] Although blacks constitute 12% of the American population, on average blacks are 12 times more likely to commit a robbery than non-blacks. The national homicide rate for young adult black males is 160 per 100,000; for young white males it is 16 per 100,000.[79] In another unconventional look at race and crime, Walsh calculates the percentage of blacks arrested in 1992 for the following eight index crimes.[80]

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[74] *Statistical Abstract of the United States* U.S. Department of Commerce 116th Edition, October 1996, p. 101.

[75] DeParle, Jason "Young Black Men in Capital: Study Finds 42% in Courts" *The New York Times* 18 April 1992, p. 1.

[76] Reiss, A. J. & J. Roth, 1993, pp. 71-72.

[77] Lykken, David T. *The AntiSocial Personalities* Lawrence Erlbaum 1995, p. 213.

[78] Levin, Michael *Why Race Matters: Race Differences and What They Mean* Praeger, 1997, pp. 291-295. "Responses to Race Differences in Crime" *Journal of Social Philosophy* Vol. 23, No. 1., pp. 5-29. "Race, Biology and Justice" *Public Affairs Quarterly* 1994, Vol. 8, pp. 267-285.

[79] Ibid.

[80] Walsh, Anthony *Biosociology: An Emerging Paradigm* Praeger, 1995, pp. 186-187.

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Percentage of Black Arrests for 1992	
Murder	55.1%
Rape	42.8%
Robbery	60.9%
Aggravated assault	38.8%
Burglary	30.4%
Larceny and theft	31.4%
Motor vehicle theft	39.4%
Arson	21.9%

Current estimates according to Walsh show that half of "all black males will be arrested sometime in their lives". Peter Brimelow, contributing editor to *Forbes* magazine, notes that "from 1991 to 1994, some 54% of homicides were committed by the 9.1% of the population that was black ages 14 and older".[81] Former Secretary of Education William J. Bennett writes, "a young black man living in Harlem is less likely to live until the age of 40 than a young man in Bangladesh".[82] Often, discussions of race and crime inevitably lead to the argument that victimization rates are greater for blacks than whites. Recent statistics show that this is indeed true; the black victimization rate for violent crime is 61.8 whereas the white victimization rate is 49.4. However, this simple point of fact fails to explain *why* a differential rate of violent crime exists in the first place.[83]

Contrary to popular belief, racial disparities in crime rates are not just concentrated within the urban center of major metropolitan areas. For any given locality, as Glayde Whitney notes, racial composition usually determines homicide rates.[84] The correlation between differential homicide rates and the percentage of the population that is black is +0.77.[85] Stretesky argues that social inequality explains this racial disparity in violent crime. However, in a comparative analysis of urban crime rates, Rosenfeld examined the link between relative

[81] Brimelow, Peter "The Wild Ones" *Forbes* 2/24/97, p. 48.
[82] Bennett, 1994, p. 26.
[83] *Statistical Abstract*, October 1996, pp. 204-205.
[84] Whitney, Glayde "Ideology and Censorship in Behavior Genetics" *Mankind Quarterly* Vol. 35, No. 4, 1995, pp. 336-337.
[85] Ibid.

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deprivation, structural inequality, and race and discovered that inequality poorly accounted for the persistence of race as a variable in urban crime rates. By controlling for a number of social factors, Rosenfeld found that race continued to surface as a common factor in rates of homicide and assault for 125 of the largest Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas. Racial composition was found to have a significant effect on rates of murder, robbery, and assault whereas relative deprivation or other measures of inequality failed to explain this pattern of violent crime.[86] Recent demographic shifts between the District of Columbia and Prince George's County, MD illustrate this commensurate relationship between homicide rates and percentage of population that is black.

Last summer *The New York Times* published a three part series on the social, economic and political problems that inundate Washington, DC. A major part of the problem, according to the *Times*, is the declining financial base of the District of Columbia.[87] The influx of middle class blacks from the District of Columbia into neighboring Prince George's County exacerbates this decline in revenue. Although the per capita income is greater among blacks who settle into nearby suburban Maryland (median household income is $40,000), the *Times* failed to mention the corresponding rise in the county's violent crime rate with this demographic transition. Hence, the increase of black residency rates in Prince George's County parallels the subsequent rise in the county's homicide rate. In 1970, the black population of the county was 14%; by 1990 it increased to 51%.[88] Record levels of violent crime accompanied the county's shifting demographic base. By the early 1990s, annual homicides were at record levels: 158 in 1991, 149 in 1993, 130 in 1994, 145 in 1995. Although homicides in Prince George's County fluctuate annually, the homicide and violent crime rate is consistently greater than the other surrounding Maryland and Virginia counties. One major difference that distinguishes other surrounding counties from the District and Prince George's County in the greater Washington area is the lower percentage of black residents. Some may attribute this higher rate of violent crime to average differences (county to county) in household income despite the fact that African Americans

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[86] Rosenfeld, Richard "Urban Crime Rates: Effects of Inequality, Welfare Dependency, Region, and Race" in *The Social Ecology of Crime* (eds.) James M. Byrne and Robert J. Sampson Springer-Verlag 1986, pp. 117-130.

[87] Holmes, Stephen A. & Michael Janofsky "Monument to Decay" (Last of three part series) *The New York Times* 7/27/96, p. 1.

[88] Ibid.

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in the Washington metropolitan area have the highest per capita income of any other major metropolitan area.

Conventional explanations for differential rates of violent crime vary over the years. Two prevalent sociological theories, 'structural' and 'sub-cultural', are frequently invoked as explanations for the "root cause" of violent crime. Stretesky cites the work of William Julius Wilson, a respected scholar and prominent proponent of the 'structural' theory, as evidence that racial inequality is a product of "society". In his latest book *When Work Disappears: The World of the New Urban Poor*, Wilson argues that a declining job base within urban areas has left a number of African Americans in the lurch. Inadequate job skills leave many blacks unemployable which increase the ranks of the black underclass. As *Newsweek* columnist Robert J. Samuelson points out, there are several problems with this analysis.[89] Samuelson notes that the overall median wage ratio between black and white men has steadily increased since 1940 from 43% to 73% in 1995. He also points out that the employment rates between black and white adults are reasonably similar.[90] In his book, Wilson reveals that a number of employers point to differences in the work ethic and personal habits between black and non-black employees. Wilson's argument is that meager job skills and lack of opportunity generate low self-esteem, which leads to sociopathic behavior and culminates in stereotypic misconceptions of black employees on the part of white employers.

However, the main problem with Wilson's analysis is that his findings merely beg further questions: As a financial investment decision, are corporations justified in avoiding areas that may have higher ratios of unskilled workers or excessive levels of absenteeism among prospective applicants? Are blacks on average less employable than Asians or whites and if so why? Why are black skill levels less developed than members of other ethnic groups? Why are some individuals more likely to turn to crime rather than seek personal enrichment from additional job training or skill development? What else can explain the experience of business owners and employee managers if a sub-standard work ethic on the part of black employees is simply a 'stereotypic misconception'? One could argue that Wilson has the causal relationship out of sequence: personal traits and characteristics of the available pool of many prospective black employees, such as a lower *average* level of general intelligence,

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[89] Samuelson, Robert J. "The Jobs Are There" *The Washington Post* 9/9/96, p. A23.
[90] Ibid.

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insufficient motivation, impulsiveness, lack of punctuality and conscientiousness as well as higher *average* levels of absenteeism, are simply impediments in a highly competitive environment. So-called 'structural' explanations merely *describe* a given set of social or economic conditions via other social phenomena. Purported "root causes" of violence in many instances are nothing more than unexamined secondary or superficial *causal* conditions. Hence, the actual *underlying* factors behind this descriptive shell game are often inadequately explained.

Evolutionary-based theories of *differential human behavior* provide the most coherent and comprehensive explanation for *differential rates* of violent crime.[91] As Ellis points out, bio-social theories render a more comprehensive interpretation of behavioral differences since it accounts for biological as well as social factors.[92] Theoretically, the causal influences on criminalistic traits are distal and proximate. While social factors seem to explain the more proximate causes of criminality, the distal relationship fits behavioral genetic models of gene/environment interaction for phenotypic traits. The link between low IQ and violent crime, which researchers have firmly established since the late 1970s, is a case in point.[93] In a bio-social framework, Lykken, Gordon and Levin offer complementary explanations for the inverse relationship between criminality and IQ. As Lykken argues, improper socialization and lack of parental guidance are most likely a residual effect of high illegitimacy rates, which in turn are traced to differences in phenotypic traits like low IQ, temperament and personality. Gordon and Levin explain the IQ link in terms of *time horizons*. Gordon notes that the inability to *look ahead* or evaluate the long range implications of one's actions can carry behavioral consequences. By the same token, Levin argues that *time horizons*, the preference for immediate gratification rather than a deferred future good, explain racial disparities across a number of life

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[91] Thiessen, Del *Bittersweet Destiny: The Stormy Evolution of Human Behavior* Transaction 1996. Eysenck, Hans & Gisli H. Gudjonsson *The Causes and Cures of Criminality* Plenum 1989. Itzkoff, Seymour W. *The Road To Equality: Evolution and Social Reality* Praeger 1992. Walsh, Anthony *Biosociology: An Emerging Paradigm* Praeger 1995. Ellis, Lee (ed.) *Social Stratification and Socioeconomic inequality* (vol. 1) Praeger 1993.

[92] Ellis, Lee "Criminal behavior and r/K selection: An extension of gene-based evolutionary theory" *Deviant Behavior* Vol. 8, 1987, pp. 149-176.

[93] Hirschi, T. & M. J. Hindelang "Intelligence and delinquency: a revisionist review" *American Sociological Review* Vol. 42, 1997, pp. 571-587. Herrnstein, R. J. "Criminogenic Traits" in *Crime* (eds.) Wilson, James Q. & Joan Petersilia, Institute for Contemporary Studies, 1995, pp. 39-63.

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outcomes from violent crime to lack of wealth accumulation.[94]

Over the years, the disregard of bio-social theories of criminality by social scientists has led to what Irving Louis Horowitz describes as "the decomposition of sociology".[95] As a distinguished sociologist, Horowitz notes that this destructive ideological trend within his own profession has evolved into a "process of theoretical triumph over empirical reality".[96] It 'redefines' the nature of 'violent crime', denies any *differences* that would distinguish violent predatory behavior from the behavioral 'norms' of civilized society, and rejects the concept of 'deviance' as well as individual responsibility. This ideological penchant rejects bio-social factors because egalitarian notions in which 'society' or 'corporate elites' are ultimately responsible for violent crime becomes ever more precarious. Bio-social theories of criminality simply explain global ethnic patterns of violent crime more comprehensively than social theories alone. What social phenomena can *adequately* explain why Asian nations experience a smaller ratio of violent crime than European countries, which consistently maintain lower rates of violent crime than Caribbean and African nations? In Tokyo, Riga, and other populated areas of the far east and Europe, one can stroll safely through public parks at night without the insecurity that would accompany the average female on an evening jog through central park in New York City.

Any objective consideration of the available data on violent crime,

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[94] Gordon, Robert "Everyday Life as an Intelligence Test: Effects of Intelligence and Intelligence Context" *Intelligence* Vol. 24, No. 1, 1997. Levin, Michael *Why Race Matters: Race Differences and What They Mean* Praeger 1997. Lykken, David *The Antisocial Personalities* Lawrence Erlbaum 1995.

[95] Denno, Deborah W. *Biology and Violence from birth to adulthood* Cambridge University Press 1990. Eysenck, Hans J. & Gisli Gudjonsson *The Causes and Cures of Criminality* Plenum 1989. Ellis, Lee & Harry Hoffman (eds.) *Crime in Biological, Social and Moral Contexts* Praeger 1990. Gordon, Robert A. "SES versus IQ in the Race-IQ-Delinquency Model" *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy* Vol.7, No. 3, 1987, pp. 30-96. Lykken, David T. *The Antisocial Personalities* Lawrence Erlbaum Associates 1995. Rowe, David "An Adaptive Strategy Theory of Crime and Delinquency" in J. David Hawkins (ed.) *Delinquency and Crime: Current Theories* Cambridge University Press 1996, pp. 268-314. Rutter, Michael (ed.) *Genetics of Criminal & Antisocial Behavior* Wiley 1996. Thiessen, Del *Bittersweet Destiny: The Stormy Evolution of Human Behavior* Transaction 1996. Walsh, Anthony *Biosociology: An Emerging Paradigm* Praeger 1995. Wilson, James Q. & Richard Herrnstein *Crime and Human Nature* Simon & Schuster 1985. Wilson, James Q. & Joan Petersilia (eds.) *Crime* Institute for Contemporary Studies 1995.

[96] Horowitz, Irving Louis *The Decomposition of Sociology* Oxford University Press 1994, p. 19.

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some of which is listed above, cannot ignore the racial dimension that distinguishes contemporary urban culture from the non-urban sectors of society. The level of civility in any community reflects the behavioral norms and character of the individual residents who dwell there. Degrees of civility in community life are established by its inhabitants; not the other way around as egalitarian critics like Stretesky would have us believe. Common egalitarian conceptions about the urban underclass view the sociopathic behavior of black male juveniles as a *reaction to stereotype images* that are prevalent among whites. Egalitarian social critics believe that racial attitudes of whites provoke urban discontent and fuel racial disharmony, yet this causal relationship is quite dubious. It is just as likely to be the other way around. Law-abiding community residents, both black and white, are leery of black male juveniles given the predictability of violence that crime statistics corroborate. This differential rate of violent sociopathic behavior is the culmination of several interacting personal and social factors: personality, temperament, intelligence, family instability and inadequate socialization that reinforce the skepticism and mistrust of the average suburbanite.

Since Stretesky believes that race plays a negligible role in violent crime, perhaps he would be willing to actually test this assumption by finding a predominantly black community that experiences lower or comparable levels of violent crime than a predominantly white or Asian community. If race is simply that insignificant, then consider the following scenarios and how they are likely to change once race is factored into each circumstance: (a) the reaction of a basketball player who is locked arm in arm with a player from the other team in a struggle to gain full possession of the basketball; (b) a sudden automobile accident in which both parties were in a hurry to get to separate locations and collided into each other as a result; (c) a police officer pulls a speeding motorist over after a high-speed pursuit; (d) a widely publicized criminal trial with racial overtones ends with unpopular verdicts; (e) several juveniles encounter a female jogger late one evening in a poorly lit public park; or (f) tourists arriving at a major US airport stray into a nearby low income area on their way to their hotel across town. This isn't to suggest that each particular circumstance will *always* fit a consistent pattern once the cast of characters differ racially. Rather the point is simply that a given set of circumstances may *increase* a predictable outcome once the racial dynamics change.

Stretesky's point that 'white males' carry out 'the greater proportion of violence in our society' is a curious one since he equates 'white male violence' with 'corporate elites' that some how 'pose a far greater threat

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to health and safety than all street crimes combined'. This claim reflects a sense of confusion and bewilderment over the concepts of 'violence', 'public safety' and the 'crimes' of the 'corporate elite'. Stretesky needs to rectify common interpretations of 'violence', 'health threats' and 'public safety' with his own understanding of these terms. What *is* precisely this widespread 'white male violence of the corporate elite'? Where are these dangerous executives that are a menace to public safety? To what extent are recklessness and negligence on the part of 'corporate elites' the equivalent of violent sociopathic behavior? Stretesky's evasive argument is nothing more than a false comparison of apples and oranges. This alleged 'deviant' conduct of corporate executives simply is not the equivalent threat to society that one in four black male juveniles are today. The *risks* that cigarette smoking or driving pose to society *differ* from the violence of sociopathic behavior. This isn't to suggest that tobacco or automobiles cannot be lethal; one out of ts and the malicious intent of corporate executives is simply a failure to connect the dots. The consequences that accompany this type of risk are self-inflicted. If you don't want to die from lung cancer, don't smoke. If you want to *minimize* the likelihood of an automobile related fatality, drive safely. Likewise, minimal contact with inner-city juveniles is a rational way to avoid violent crime.

On affirmative action, Stretesky raises an interesting question about the effectiveness of affirmative action programs in creating equal opportunities for African Americans. Have blacks actually benefited from preferential treatment? Furthermore, are improvements in the overall economic well-being of African Americans the result of affirmative action programs? What is the legitimacy of affirmative action?

Stretesky argues that whites continue to have an unfair advantage in the labor market presumably because of discriminatory hiring practices and the 'exclusion' of African Americans from upper-level management positions. In this regard, Stretesky questions the effectiveness of affirmative action and, though he believes that this may have served to "eliminate the unfair advantage of whites in the employment market", Stretesky disputes the idea that blacks have benefited from affirmative action. Again, Stretesky's argument is addressed in a previous point from my initial essay. One of my original points was that egalitarian social critics continue to cite *inequality of results* as undisputed evidence of *inequality of opportunity* when the two conditions are not one and the same. In the work force, the fact that average differences persist in

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personal earnings or employment hiring patterns between blacks and whites may not necessarily be the result of unequal opportunities. A number of personal factors enter into the picture that most likely explains this differential employment pattern. Simply put, disparities in employment practices may reflect *average* group differences in employee performance, such as efficiency in completing job tasks, ability to handle complex and multifaceted tasks, worker expectations and overall levels of productivity.

One important fact that Stretesky disregards is that the overall economic status of African Americans has improved significantly in this century. The economic data compiled by Smith and Welch in the *Journal of Economic Literature* disputes the premise that differential wage rates between blacks and whites mean that blacks have not made *any* significant economic progress. The figures tell an interesting tale. For example, Smith and Welch write, "The standard of living of today's black men has improved not only as measured against earlier generations, but also relative to their white contemporaries. While incomes of white men were growing at a 2.2 percent rate throughout these 40 years [1940-1980], black men were enjoying an income growth of 3.5 percent per year". Another interesting aspect is that nearly half (14.2%) of the total gain in black male wages relative to white male wages (29.3%) occurred in the twenty year span between 1940-1960.[97] This is prior to the social and legal changes as a result of civil rights legislation in the early 1960s. Some of the evidence presented in Smith and Welch's extensive paper reinforces Charles Murray's general conclusion a decade ago regarding the effectiveness of social welfare programs.[98] One major assumption in Stretesky's argument is called into question: How much of the wage and employment disparities between blacks and whites is actually the result of 'discrimination' and 'racism'?

The legitimacy of affirmative action as a social program does not rest on its utility or efficiency to remedy 'social injustice'. Any basis for evaluating its legitimacy is not its effectiveness in securing employment, promotions or college admissions for African Americans nor its overall success in creating greater levels of 'diversity' within organizations. The moral legitimacy and legal justification of affirmative action rests upon

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[97] Smith, James P. and Finis R. Welch "Black Economic Progress After Myrdal" *Journal of Economic Literature* Vol. 27, June 1989, p. 522.

[98] Murray, Charles *Losing Ground: American Social Policy 1950-1980* Basic Books 1984.

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underlying empirical presumptions over group-based claims for compensatory damages. As to whether or not African Americans should receive preferential treatment at the expense of equally qualified whites depends upon the factors that are *actually* responsible for the *persistence* of racial disparities. The only way to adequately resolve this dilemma, as Levin recently points out, is to consider and evaluate the societal implications of race differences.

Stretesky and other egalitarians measure the effectiveness of affirmative action by the yardstick of equal outcomes. The paradox that they fail to come to terms with is one that Hayek exposed in *The Constitution of Liberty*;

> Modern advocates of a more far-reaching material equality usually deny that their demands are based on any assumption of the factual equality of all men. It is nevertheless still widely believed that this is the main justification for such demands. Nothing, however, is more damaging to the demand for equal treatment than to base it on so obviously untrue an assumption as that of the factual equality of all men. To rest the case for equal treatment of national or racial minorities on the assertion that they do not differ from other men is implicitly to admit that factual inequality would justify unequal treatment; and the proof that some differences do, in fact, exist would not be long in forthcoming. It is of the essence of the demand for equality before the law that people should be treated alike in spite of the fact that they are born different.... From the fact that people are very different it follows that, if we treat them equally, the result must be inequality in their actual position, and that the only way to place them in an equal position would be to treat them differently.[99]

Egalitarian arguments that propose racial screening as a 'necessary' erstwhile step toward a 'colorblind' society recognize, at least intuitively, that neither equality of opportunity nor equality before the law is a legitimate objective of a civil society, but constitutes an illusive means to a distributive end. Equality of opportunity is a legitimate social policy *only* when, as Stretesky argues, life's rewards are distributed equally irrespective of talent, perseverence and merit. The accuracy of Herrnstein and Murray's syllogism, that innate human differences are generally more salient once the social environment becomes more equal,

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[99] Hayek, F. A. *The Constitution of Liberty* University of Chicago Press 1960, pp. 86-87.

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is just as likely to reflect a 'colorblind' society that adheres to the idea of *equality before the law* without preferential treatment. The ideal utopian society for egalitarians is one that constantly eliminates *any* 'disparate impact' via transfer programs. Stretesky considers the ineffectiveness of affirmative action and other social engineering schemes as further proof of a caste-based society that delegates status and rank. Again, this distorted perspective disregards the importance of individual differences in human endeavors that Edward Lee Thorndike once summarized;

> Each individual's behavior is caused in part by certain tendencies which he has in common with all members of the species, in part by tendencies peculiar to his sex, in part by tendencies peculiar to his ancestry, in part by the stage of development or maturation which he has reached, in part by tendencies peculiar to the 'culture' of his land and time, and in part by the circumstances which characterize his own peculiar life-history.[100]

In summary, the criticism that Stretesky levels in response to *The Problem of Equality* merely reinforces a number of points in that essay. As a social ideology, egalitarianism rejects any valid scientific claim that implicates individual or group differences as a contributory cause of socio-economic inequality. Rather than consider the likelihood that human differences in personality traits, individual character and social behavior indirectly contribute to substantial disparities in job qualifications, employee performance, rates of violent crime and other social phenomena, Stretesky and other egalitarians continue to believe that "society" remains nefariously responsible for these persistent conditions. Such criticism merely raises further questions as to the credibility of social scientists who simply continue to sidestep human differences in the study of social inequality. As long as egalitarian social scientists disregard solid empirical research from the behavioral sciences, contentious social issues that involve such differences are likely to remain irreconcilable.

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[100] Osborne, R. Travis, Clyde Noble & Nathaniel Weyl *Human Variation: The Biopsychology of Age, Race, and Sex* Academic Press 1978 (see epigraph).

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Resources and Population:
Natural, Institutional, and Demographic Dimensions of Development
Edited by Bernando Colombo, Paul Demeny and Max E. Perutz
Oxford University Press, New York, 1996 ISBN 0-19-528918-9

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, the world's population has increased threefold. The "demographic revolution" has not only changed the size of the population; it is radically transforming its racial structure as well as its age and spatial distribution. Sharply divergent trends of population growth between nations raise severe migratory problems and pose difficult challenges. Contradictions are also observed, advances in human welfare, such as an increased longevity, and persisting conditions of poverty and misery in a sizable proportion of the world's population. The contributors to this volume examine the relationship between physical and human resources and population within the context of poverty and overpopulation resulting from historically unprecedented population growth, and resulting environmental issues.

Attention is focussed on those resources most critical for human well-being, including soil, water, and energy on the one hand, and education, social organization, and economic management, on the other. The discussion is framed by a broad subdivision into six parts, examining demographic history and global population prospects, the relationships between population and physical, biological, and human resources, human health, and human settlements.

The Environment in World Politics:
Exploring the Limits
Ian Bellany
Edward Elgar, Cheltenham, U.K. 1997, ISBN 185898-348-7

In this book Bellany examines vital problems associated with the ongoing population explosion in the Third World, fed as it is by medical, financial and material assistance from the advanced nations of the West.

It is an extremely valuable work, concentrating primarily upon the problems of future energy supplies and resultant contamination,

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and on the disposal of waste. Excellent data is supplied about nuclear power and the damage being done to the stratosphere and lower atmosphere. The "greenhouse" threat is explored, and while the food supply has currently increased to match the population, Bellany warns that "world population will continue to increase until food production per head peaks and the starts to fall."

Certainly the future does not look rosy when we take into consideration the Asian Development Bank's recent statements about pollution and environmental degradation on that continent: Asia contains thirteen of the fifteen most polluted cities in the world (and the population of these is increasing and pollution worsening); Asian rivers are nearly four times as polluted as they were in the 1970s; 1% of Asia's forests are being lost *every year*; between 70 and 90 percent of the region's animal life has already disappeared; and over vast areas the deforested soil is being lost through erosion.

Ukraine's Economic Reforms: Obstacles, Errors, Lessons
Raphael Shen
Praeger, Westport, CT.1996 ISBN 0-275-95249-1

This is a useful introduction to anyone wishing to understand the present-day economic plight of the Ukraine, which with its richly endowed soils (more recently polluted) should be one of the wealthiest countries in Europe.

It provides a concise history of Ukraine both before and during Marxist rule before moving on to the situation as it existed at the time of publication. Unfortunately, the statistical data goes up only as far as 1994, but the discussion of efforts at price liberalization, privatization, the creation of an appropriate legal framework for private enterprise, and problems in the management of public finance and development of foreign trade, all reveal how difficult it is to rebuild both an economy and a society after two generations of Marxist destruction. Government paternalism is necessary for a transitional period, but this has to be slowly relaxed to facilitate the successful transfer of economic activities to the private sector. In the case of Ukraine, the problem has been acerbated by its continued dependence on Russia for much of its energy needs, as well as for its export market.

Like other parts of the former Czarist empire, the Ukraine had

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been under Marxist rule for a sufficiently long time to eliminate any claims that living persons might have had to property confiscated under communism. As in other former Marxist countries, this can result in a tendency for a new capitalist class to emerge, controlling the centers of wealth, that comprises former Communist officials who have been able to make use of their contacts, knowledge and positions to benefit themselves in the emerging new private sector.

The State and the Family: A Comparative Analysis of Family Policies in Industrialized Countries
Anne Hélene Gauthier
Oxford University Press, New York ISBN 0-19-828804-2

Perceived as a somewhat weakened institution, or at least as an institution worthy of state support, the family has emerged as a major issue on the political agenda of many governments of industrialized countries in recent years. Countries such as France, in particular, have been concerned about the declining birthrate, and have sought to strengthen the family in the hope of increasing fertility. This is of real importance to the French when they look at the continuing population explosion in North Africa, where women still average six live births, and the pressure of North Africans to seek to migrate across the Mediterranean into France.

Questions of how best to support families with children, working parents, lone-parents, and families in need have been given increasing attention. Talk of family-friendly policies has been recurrent on the political scene, and has been accompanied by a renewed commitment on the part of governments to support families. Yet, what is today referred to as family policy differs widely from the forms of government support offered before the Second World War.

Based on an original analysis of qualitative and quantitative material from twenty-two industrialized countries, this book traces the development of state support for families since the turn of the century. Assembling elements from demography, sociology, and economics, it argues that demographic changes have been a major force in bringing population and family issues on to the political agenda. The decline in fertility, the increase in divorce rates and lone-parenthood, and the entry of women into the labor force have all reduced the relevance of systems of state support aimed at traditional

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male breadwinner-housewife families, and in so doing have forced governments to reform the existing measures of family support. However, the exact nature of these reforms, and the ways family policy has evolved over time, differ considerably across countries.

Fair Shares for All:
Jacobin Egalitarianism in Practice
Jean-Pierre Gross
Cambridge University Press, 1997 ISBN 0-521-56318-6

In the words of the publishers, "This study explores the egalitarian policies pursued in the provinces during the radical phase of the French Revolution, but moves away from the habit of looking at such issues in terms of the Terror alone. It challenges revisionist readings of Jacobinism that dwell on its totalitarian potential or portray it as dangerously utopian." In short, this is itself a "revisionist" work which seeks to detract from the established view (by calling that "revisionist") of the role of the Jacobins in promoting the hatred and blood-bathed excesses in the French Revolution, and in preparing the way for the totalitarianism that dominated that murderous affair. The author is blatantly sympathetic to Jacobin doctrine, and it is perhaps for this reason that the book makes enlightening reading for anyone sufficiently well-versed in the history of the French Revolution to avoid being mislead by its propagandist bias.

Gross correctly states that the mainstream Jacobin agenda held out the *promise* of "fair shares" and equal opportunities for all in a private-ownership market economy. He then goes on to argue that it sought to achieve these goals, which he regards as "social justice," in a fashion which somehow was to avoid detracting from individual freedom and "human rights." In his view "Revolutionary experience confirms that fair shares for all can be achieved, *if the circumstances are right* [our italics], by appealing to people's sense of equity and relying on their sociability." he believes that it does not require "state interference at the expense of individualism" (p. 202). In short, he is living in a fanciful world which is directly opposed to the views expressed by Pitirim Sorokin, a liberal revolutionary who survived the Russian Revolution, in *The Sociology of Revolution*. While protecting himself by the condition "if the circumstances are right," but without giving us any convincing historical evidence of the existence of such

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circumstances at any time, Gross reveals his naivete. Nevertheless, the book is useful in revealing the key role played by the Girondins and Montagnards and many lesser-known figures, and startling in that it supports what the publishers describe as "the moral ascendancy" of Robespierre!

It is somewhat revealing to read that author Jean-Pierre Gross was educated at Queen's College, Oxford, and at the Sorbonne – and that after holding academic posts in Britain and the USA, in 1978 he became a member of the International Staff at NATO Headquarters, Brussels, where he has since remained. This is an indication of the strength of the near-radical Left ensconced within the university and policy-making centers of the Western world.

Resolution of Prison Riots: Strategies and Policies
Bert Useem, Camille Graham Camp, George M. Camp
Oxford University Press, New York ISBN 0-19-509324-0

Using close-up studies of eight prison riots, *Resolution of Prison Riots* gives readers an inside view of what these events are like. The riots examined include those that grabbed national attention – one in which over 100 hostages were taken and held for 11 days – as well as lesser-known disturbances whose details are equally gripping. The book explores the conditions that precipitate disturbances, the course of events during the disturbances, and the aftermath and recovery on the part of the corrections agencies.

At its heart, the book seeks to explain why and how these events occurred. Along the way, the authors explore issues related to conflict management, negotiations, and strategies of administrative organization. The analysis offers practical advice to those responsible for preventing and resolving large-scale disorders. It does not choose to suggest that there would be fewer prison riots if truly violent criminals, guilty of murder and similar heinous crimes, were executed instead of imprisoned at great expense to the wider community they had preyed upon.

Excepting this reservation, the authors may be said to have provided a useful understanding of the operation of correctional institutions. *Resolution of Prison Riots* will be of interest not only to corrections professionals, but to anyone concerned about the difficult

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situation in which prison administrators find themselves today.

Crime as Destiny: A Study of Criminal Twins
J. D. Lange (translated by Charlotte Haldane)
Scott-Townsend Publishers, Washington D.C., 1996
ISBN 1-878465-21-X. 199 pps, $18.00

This is a valuable and timely reprint of an important work of pioneering importance to research in both twin studies and criminology. It represents a study first published in German in 1929, and subsequently translated into English by Charlotte Haldane, with an enlightening Foreword by her husband, the renowned J. B. S. Haldane. It is timely in light of the new attention being paid to twin studies as a method of measuring the role of heredity in setting the limits to the behavioral potential of individuals – and the prevailing debate on the extent to which heredity is responsible for determining individual susceptibility to criminal influences.

J. B. S. Haldane expresses his enthusiasm for the study conducted by Lange, who was Director of the Experimental Station for Psychiatry of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute during the 1920s. "We have got to reshape our attitude to evil," Haldane declares, "Lange will lead us to realize that every evil has a cause .... Taking the record of any criminal, we could predict the behavior of a monozygotic twin placed in the same environment. *Crime is destiny*.

The book recounts and analyzes the case histories of thirteen pairs of twins, portraying these in what Charlotte Haldane approvingly refers as his "unusual gift for racy, descriptive narrative" which she asserts is made even more attractive by "the additional fascination of truth." An additional bonus is Kevin Lamb's introduction to the current text, which concisely traces the history of subsequent research into the relationship between heredity and criminal behavior, citing key publications on this topic.

Why Do We Americans Submit to This?
Susan Huck
Newcomb Publishers, Inc., 1997
ISBN No. 0-9649531-1-0, 202 pages, $20 Paperback

This book collects in one place all of Susan Huck's writings in

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Conservative Review, a journal of opinion published in McLean, Virginia, between 1990 and early 1997. It is far superior to many collections of this sort, in that the articles and book reviews range over a broad field, avoiding repetition, while nevertheless being tied together by introductory essays to each topical section. The collection fits together well. Taken as a whole, it gives the various dimensions of a contemporary American conservative's cultural perspective in the context of the "culture war" that has been going on in the United States for many years. Although Huck writes with great perceptiveness, vigor and good humor, the subtext is one of protest. Accordingly, this book is an example of today's "angry conservatism" in the United States.

Dr. Susan Huck is an associate editor of *Conservative Review*. Her education was as a geographer, which led to her service on the faculties of Hunter College in New York City and Grove City College. Active in the conservative movement, she worked for nine years on the staff of Congressman Larry McDonald (killed when the Soviets shot down KAL 007). Much of her career has, however, been as a journalist, author and editor. A striking thing about the book is that she has confronted "the enemy" face-to-face, seeing and knowing many of the actual people who have conducted so frenetically the assault on mainstream America and, indeed, on the entire heritage of Western civilization. Her journalism has led her to see the struggle not as one with "impersonal forces," but with living, breathing human beings, many of whom are filled with venom, and many more of whom are primarily stolid in their indifference.

The book's title suggests three things: that the United States is under cultural, intellectual attack (the "this" to which Americans submit); that Americans are primarily submissive in the face of the assault; and that that submissiveness itself cries out for some explanation. These are the recurrent themes of the essays.

Here are some of the subjects she discusses:

- That the United States is *de facto* governed by a "liberal ruling class," which she speaks of as "our governing elite." This commands a "ponderous bureaucracy" and finds much of its stimulus through decades of around-the-clock work by the likes of the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations, which provide "offices, salaried staff, phones, faxes, publications, sympathetic press coverage, [and] nationwide speaking engagements." This is an "Establishment [that]

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stands above both of our allegedly competing political parties." The Left has succeeded in its "Gramscian 'long march through the institutions,'" and dominates all the commanding heights in American society (with, oddly, the exception of talk-radio, where mainstream voices reach millions daily).

- That, bluntly stated, "[liberals] openly intend to change the whole character of the [American] nation." This is a continuation of what she understands is "the assault of the 'intellectuals' upon the middle class, begun in the Nineteenth Century." The "alienation of the intellectual" is much discussed in books on intellectual history, but many people are not conversant with that literature and thus fail to factor in one of the major forces that have shaped the modern age.
- That propaganda, pure and simple, is fed to the American people as a steady diet. She points out how the control of language takes on totalitarian dimensions: "The extent to which the new formulations are parroted is used to measure compliance on the part of cadres and masses. In other words, their use becomes a key indicator of obedience. And, in fact, constant changes become a gauge of continuing obedience."
- That these elements have led to enormities of many kinds. The racial front provides examples: there is an "atrocious, officially imposed and/or sanctioned anti-white discrimination pervading every aspect of society." Among the black population of the U.S., "an ever-enlarging mass of many millions of individuals have been taught – by whites – that any sort of irresponsible, destructive, vicious behavior is likely to be indulged."

Huck sees that in many things American law and government are ineffectual to the point of spinelessness. In others, however, a bullying "goon" mentality, to which any means seem appropriate, has taken hold: the elements of an incipient police state are apparent in such things as the "ever-growing, ponderous, confusing mass of laws, regulations, directives and guidelines interfering ever more minutely with normal, everyday, even private activities ... Civil forfeiture ... Trial by media ... Double jeopardy...."

Whether one agrees with her perception of any given issue or not, Huck is pinpointing real issues. This is a serious book, despite the humor of Huck's frequent satire, and one which speaks to important issues.

Dwight D. Murphey

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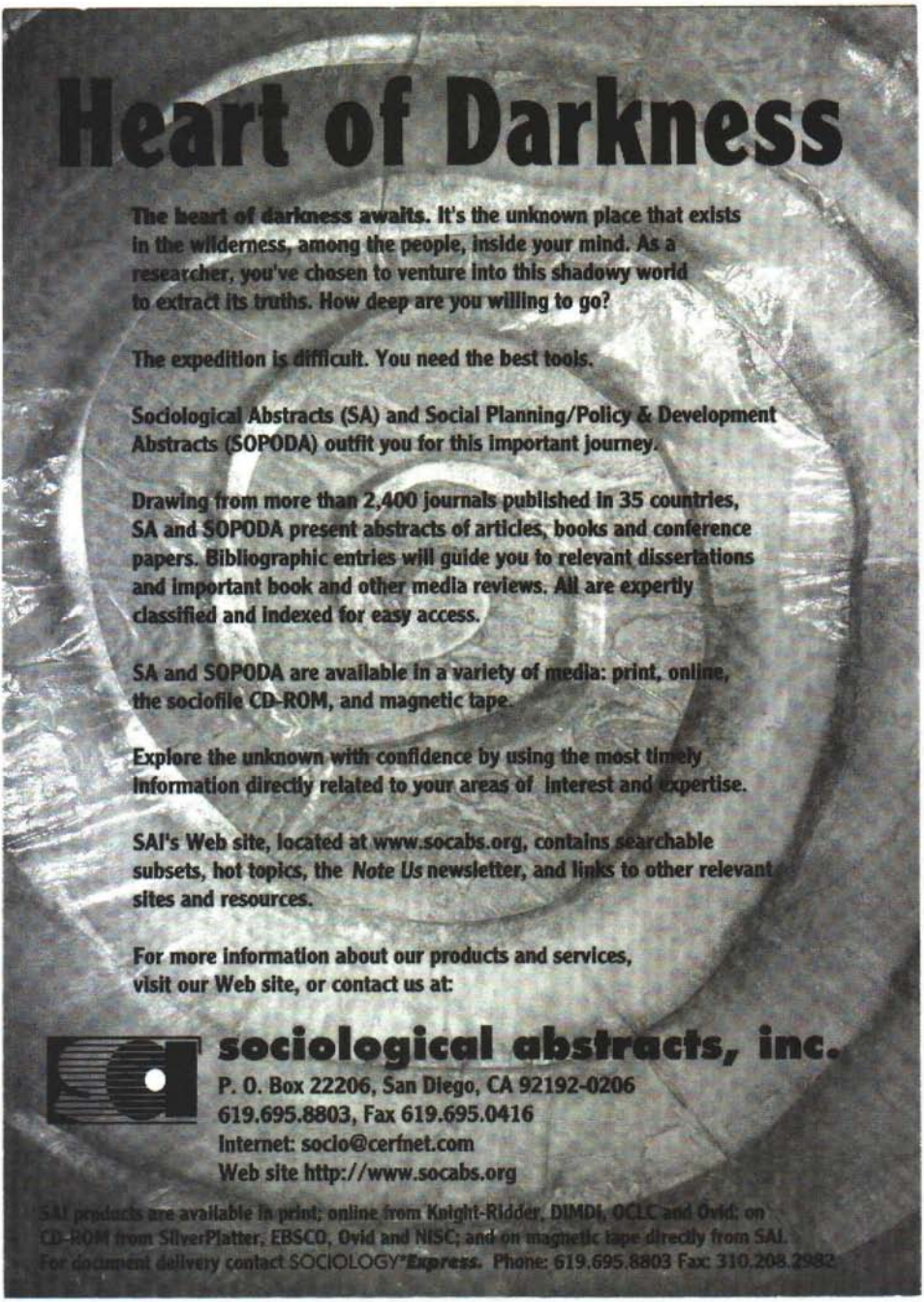

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The Future of the Gulf

Dr. Gawdat Bahgat
Indiana University of Pennsylvania

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